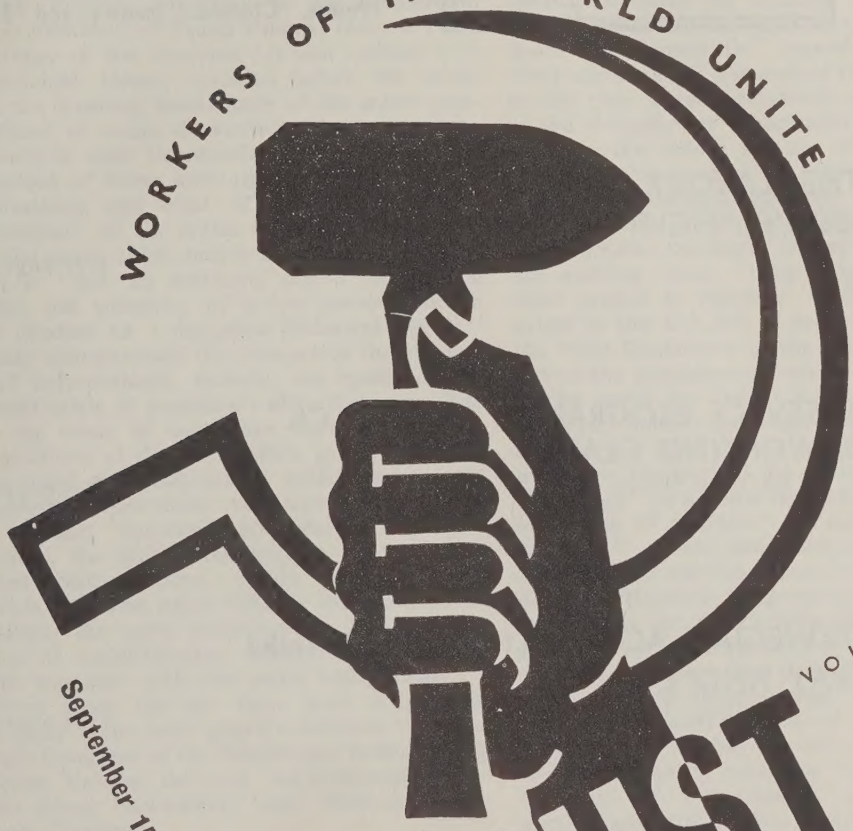
EVENTS IN CUBA

THE ROOSEVELT CODES



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HOW THE LABOUR LIEUTENANTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE "FIGHT" AGAINST FASCISM

THE Brussels Congress of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, like the Paris Conference of the Socialist (!) and Labour (!!) International, clearly revealed before the whole world the crushing bankruptcy of the entire post-war deceit of social democracy concerning the "democratic road to socialism," the actual disintegration of these institutions as international organisations, and what is more, the speedy "fascisation" of the entire social-democracy and reformist trade union movement which ("fascisation") is "not an accident, not a sin, not a blunder, not treachery of a few persons, but a social product of a complete historical epoch," as Lenin characterised the collapse of the pre-war Second International, namely, the epoch of the universal crisis of capitalism after the war. The more the crisis of capitalism develops and the contradictions of the imperialists grow, the more the national organisations of social-fascism and the reformist trade union movement coalesce with their national "fascised" bourgeois government apparatus, the more irreconcilable become the national contradictions within these "Internationals." The more difficult the position of capitalism, the more embarrassing becomes the position of social-fascism, which is experiencing a crisis together with the entire bourgeoisie.

"Never since the war have any congresses taken place under such grave conditions," as the Brussels Congress of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, declared the arch-reactionary French labour bureaucrat, Leon Jouhaux at the Brussels Congress.

"While capitalism displays its inability to provide the vital needs of society more clearly than ever . . . we are also witnessing a retrogression of the political power of socialism (read: of social democracy—Ed.)." Thus did Leon Blum, the now most prominent "left" social-fascist of the Second International, sum up the results of the last few years at the Paris Conference thereof.

"The crisis of socialism (i.e., of social fascism —Ed.) is not a result of internal strife of a strong and confident forward movement; it is expressed in a crisis of confidence which affects the existence of the socialist movement." Thus does the Polish "extreme left" trade union bureaucrat, Alter, speak of the same conference.

The betrayal of German social fascism, which opened the road to the bloody fascist dictatorship in Germany, which left the trade unions that had been cemented with the sweat and blood of the German workers for decades, to the mercies of the Hitler executionists, has torn off the mask from the "democratic" legend of social-democracy and exposed the essence of social democracy as the chief social foundation of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for a capitalist solution of the crisis to the toiling masses of the world. And the more this process of "fascisation" of social democracy develops, the more closely it becomes identified with monopoly capital, the more stubborn becomes the social fascist policy of splitting the working class. "The unity of the working-class cannot be restored while a dictatorship exists in the U.S.S.R." declared Vandervelde at the Paris Conference of the Second International. Hence the concentrated hatred of the entire social fascist camp for the U.S.S.R. and the communists, hence the fresh outbreak of frenzy against the land of the proletarian dictatorship under the pretence of the defence of the "idea of democracy" as against the "idea of dictatorship," the "idea of pacifism" as against the "idea of violence." This rabid campaign has found its expression in the resolutions of the Paris Conference and Brussels Congress which regard on the same plane the dictatorship of the working class with the open dictatorship of the brutalised German bourgeoisie. And if, at the Paris Conference of the Second International, the refined social traitors, the past masters of prostituted phraseology sought to disguise this fundamental line of social fascism by elevating the question of "democracy" to a "principle" plane, the gang of corrupt and stupid labour lieutenants of the capitalists, at the congress of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, did this far more rudely and openly.

"The Amsterdam International of Trade Unions must firmly and clearly oppose the communists. We can make no distinction whatever between communism and fascism," declared the Dutch trade union bureaucrat, Coopers, amidst the wild applause of the entire Brussels congress of Amsterdamites.

But there ends the whole distinction between the political and the trade union "internationals" of international social fascism. The Brussels congress of the Amsterdam International was the prelude to the main act, performed by the leaders of the Second International in Paris.

But that is precisely why the Brussels congress of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions presents a certain interest, since the "strategical

plan" of splitting the working class was developed more openly here by international social fascism, especially in connection with the need for finding some means of deceiving the tens of millions of workers and unemployed who demand a struggle from the trade unions against the unbearable yoke of unemployment, the capitalist offensive; starvation, destitution and poverty.

Nothing revealed the hostility of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy to the genuine class unity of the proletariat in such striking relief as its "strategic" contrasting of the ultra-reactionary American Federation of Labour to the revolutionary Soviet trade unions. The withdrawal of the German trade unions marks the loss of more than half the membership dues of the entire Amsterdam International. In search of "compensation," the Amsterdam labour bureaucracy turned its gaze across the ocean. Is not this the reason for the special zeal with which they have been lauding Roosevelt's "plan" as "the greatest and most progressive attempt of our times" in the words of Jouhaux, to abolish unemployment and the anarchy of capitalist production? This praise of Roosevelt's plan, the essence of which consists, it will be remembered, in the prohibition of strikes and the complete identification of the American Federation of Labour with monopoly capital, an attempt to create company unions of workers and employers in the American factories by splitting the employed workers and the unemployed, on the basis of the most monstrous fraud with the aid of the three billion dollars allegedly appropriated for public works, and the introduction of a law on minimum wages which are to become maximum wages, now represents one of the leading lines of policy of the entire Second International. None other than the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung," the organ of Otto Bauer, proved on the basis of "Marxism," that there is a difference between Roosevelt's "plan" and the usual capitalist methods, maintaining that they differ from each other "as methods of capitalism differ from methods of feudalism." Leon Jouhaux, at the congress of the Amsterdam labour bureaucrats merely expressed the thought of the Austro-Marxists more concretely, when he proposed, in his report on the economic situation, that "the working class should accept and support the experiment of the United States President," especially as "there is no country in the world where the conservative and reactionary press does not attack Roosevelt and his experiment." And so much the more so, since Roosevelt's demagogy fully coincides with the demagogy of the plan submitted by the committee of experts of the Amsterdam International itself and adopted by the Congress, the entire contents of which consist in the attempt to prove "the possibility of building socialist society within the framework of capitalism by putting pressure to bear upon the governments."

It must be said that, although at the Paris Conference of the Second International, the social-fascists were modestly silent about their economic programme and preferred to make no mention of their execrable legend, which they still spread to this day, of the advent of a "new era" of state capitalism as a transitional stage to socialism (under the flag of which the millions of taxpayers are being mercilessly robbed in the name of the salvation of the bankrupt banks), the entire Paris Conference was marked by the theoretical recognition of the need for "curing" the crisis. The crisis must be "cured" in the name of salvation from fascism, of course! "This is the chief significance of the struggle of socialism against fascism," urged Leon Blum. "It consists of a struggle against the crisis. Not because we think that the crisis can be abolished. But we can attempt to mitigate its cruel effect."

The tendency to attract the American trade union bureaucracy into the Amsterdam International is strengthened every time that the ground under the feet of the European labour bureaucrats becomes shaky, and the spontaneous urge of the membership of the reformist trade unions towards a united class front with the revolutionary workers — and particularly the growth of popularity of the U.S.S.R. and Soviet trade unions must be opposed — to disrupt the proletarian united front, by another "unity idea."

In 1920 the American Federation of Labour, a year after the organisation of the Amsterdam International withdrew from it, on the plea that the Amsterdam International was too "revolutionary." The Amsterdam labour bureaucracy made good use of this accusation, at the time. Two or three years afterwards began the crisis of the reformist trade union movement in Europe. And just as Jouhaux and Citrine to-day, did the emissaries of the Amsterdam International cringe then before the American trade union bureaucrats, protesting against the slanderous charge that the Amsterdam International is revolutionary. Brown, the third secretary of the Amsterdam International, who was subsequently removed for "radicalism," then stated in an interview with American journalists :—

"The leaders of the American trade union movement have now been able to see that the leaders of the European labour movement are not radical, extremist, irresponsible persons as might have been thought a year or two ago."

The American bourgeois is now in need of a serious insurance machinery and social prop in

its struggle for a capitalist way out of the crisis. The Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats, who, from their own experience know full well of the servile part played by the leaders of the American Federation of Labour address themselves directly to the boss, lauding the policy of a "rapprochement" between the American Federation of Labour and the state.

While the Conference of the Second International, seeking to absolve social-democracy of the blame for the split of the working class, which led to the victory of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, and was a result of the betrayal of the working class by international social democracy, left its executive committee with a "free hand" to manoeuvre in relation to the Comintern, the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy *openly stated that within the working class there can be only a split, that is, a merciless struggle against communism; that a united front is possible only with the American Federation of Labour, that is, with the open agency of American imperialism.*

It is in this "united front" that we see the international significance of the attempts to attract the American Federation of Labour to the Amsterdam International. Therein the extended reproduction of the betrayal of the Second International of 1914 found a striking expression.

> "Your gospel of 'unity' . . . is objectively a defence of the enslavement of the *workers* by their imperialist bourgeoisie, through its best agents in the labour movement" (Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split of Socialism").

Fascism, *"Fascisation" tremendously increases the tempo of the preparation of the bourgeoisie for war and a military attack upon the U.S.S.R.* The trial manoeuvre of social-democracy consisted, during the first period following upon the advent of the fascist dictatorship to power in Germany, in *disrupting the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace,* the struggle which gains the deepest sympathies of the widest masses of toilers throughout the world for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, by presenting the Soviet Union as an "ally" of Hitler's fascist government. When this mean fraud was quickly dispelled, it became clear that the efforts of German fascism were aimed precisely at coming to an arrangement with the international capitalists for the purpose of a military intervention of the U.S.S.R., since the land of the proletarian dictatorship represents the chief bulwark in the struggle of the international proletariat against fascism and unbridled bourgeois reaction. The social-fascists now attempt to disrupt the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace by a fraudulent manoeuvre, portraying the U.S.S.R. as the "leading anti-revisionist country," and the old abominable theory of Otto Bauer—"red militarsim" and "red imperialism"—is revived in a new form. The social-fascists constantly advance this or that anti-soviet version, depending upon the needs of the moment and the circumstances.

The Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats approached the question more simply. Just as Carl Legien in August, 1914, so Leon Jouhaux now (still before the war) openly seeks to utilise the machinery of the Amsterdam International in the interests of one imperialist grouping against another, contrasting the "pacifist nations" to "belligerent" nations, the "lands of democracy" to the "land of dictatorship."

The Belgian social fascist, Auguste Devine, in the central organ of the Belgian Labour Party, "Peuple," explained the meaning of the war discussion of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy sufficiently clearly :—

> "One hears young people saying now: Should a new war break out we will not fight any more; we will reply by a civil war.
>
> "In all cases? we ask. Think of it. Tomorrow the National Socialist government may start a new war . . . Supposing the German people . . . do not revolt against their rulers and the fascist bands appear on our borders ready . . . to repeat the murders and devastation of 1914 . . . will you let them do this?
>
> "What! you declare yourselves ready to die in the fight against the fascists here, while on the day when you are faced with the German fascists you will throw away your arms and refuse to defend our women, our children and socialism?
>
> "No one will believe you. You are fooling yourselves. Our young socialists are no more cowardly than were their fathers . . . and like them they have no intention of betraying the cause of labour."

In this way does the trade union bureaucracy use the bellicose aggression of German fascism to mobilise the masses in their capitalist countries for the best preparation of their national bourgeoisie for war. Under the disguise of a struggle against fascism, by which is meant foreign fascism only, the conditions necessary for a "civil peace" are created even before the proclamation of war. "The enemy outside one's house may be sometimes more dangerous to the working class than the enemy within one's own house," is the way the "Socialist Herald," organ of the Menshevik white emigrés, sums up the situation.

But the counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet edge of the "preparedness" of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats to "defend our wives, our children, socialism and the cause of labour" found its expression, not so much in speeches as in the

resolution of the Brussels congress of the Amsterdam International. This resolution represents a striking sample of the struggle of social-fascism against the U.S.S.R. It speaks, of course, of a "struggle" against war and of resorting to a strike as weapon of the struggle. During the various stages which followed the war the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions manoeuvred variously with the slogan of a general strike against war. During the revolutionary period which followed immediately after the war this was a "radical" formulation culminating in the resolutions of the Hague conference of 1922. But already in 1924, at the Vienna congress of the Amsterdamites, Leon Jouhaux, the invariable reporter on military questions, the "commissar of the nation" during the imperialist war, stated:

"A general strike? It presupposes the existence of a powerful labour organisation, *the support and goodwill of the public opinion.*"

The resolution of the Brussels Congress proceeds from the belief—a belief which is not unfounded—that such support of "public opinion" for the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy is now assured. But why is the bourgeoisie ready to support such a strike now? Against whom is this support directed? This is very eloquently and convincingly revealed by the definition of "aggression" given by the Brussels congress, in opposition to that of the Soviet government, a definition which is clear and unambiguous: *the aggressor is he who invades the territory of another nation.* The Brussels congress opposed this by its own definition: *the aggressor is he who does not submit to compulsory arbitration;* by which is meant arbitration by the League of Nations. It is against *such states* that the Amsterdam International urges the trade unions of these nations to proclaim a general strike, and the trade unions of other nations to boycott *these* states.

What is this, if not a totally undisguised preparation for a military intervention against the land of the proletarian dictatorship? There can be no doubt that on this question the Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats are assured of the "support and goodwill of public opinion." It is characteristic that at the Paris Conference Otto Bauer gave his wholehearted support to this resolution, hailing its "determined" tone, particularly on the question of the general strike.

But the counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet character of the Brussels congress was manifested perhaps most glaringly on the question of the so-called "struggle" of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy against German fascism. The "general line" of the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam International consists in absolving "democracy" of the blame for the development, in connection with the growth of the revolutionary struggle, of capitalist democracy into an open fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the monstrous inability of social fascism to protect "democracy," whose state machinery in Germany (and Austria) was in its own hands. To this end both the Paris Conference of the Second International and the Brussels Congress of the Amsterdam International gave high praise to the German social fascists. In saving the "honour" of German social democracy, the social-fascists were saving themselves. "The International Federation of Trade Unions has been entirely faithful to its duty," stated General Secretary Chevenal in his report on fascism. "The Germans are guilty, but the rebukes are unfair."

This was said in the absence of the Germans At the Paris Conference of the Second International the well-known German labour bureaucrat, Aufheiser, who has been for many years the president of the reformist union of clerks (A.V.A.) and who has the reputation of a "left" among the social-fascists, reversed this formula, and, in the interests of bringing pressure to bear upon the "International" hinted at the *mutual responsibility* of the leaders of international social fascism:

> "If the development of the German events is to be considered in an historical light . . . we have to admit that in 1918 we captured serious political positions in Germany. If we did not maintain these political positions let the responsibility for it rest not upon any individuals, but upon the whole International, and let all other countries realise that the political power cannot be maintained if there is no determination to create an economic basis for it."

The economic basis to which Aufheiser refers apparently consists of the so-called "socialisation" about which hundreds of theoretical books have been written by social-democratic savants, while Noske was shooting down the revolutionary German workers by the thousand, as well as of "industrial democracy," of which Aufheiser was one of the authors. It was the most striking expression of the coalescence of the reformist trade unions and monopoly capital (that is, of their "fascisation"), but at present the bourgeoisie has scrapped it owing to its uselessness under the conditions of the crisis.

But while this was common to the Paris Conference and the Brussels Congress, there was a certain division of labour between them. To whitewash the German social-democracy, the leaders of the Second International start the legend that *the reformist trade union bureaucracy alone was guilty of the "incorrect" policy* of German social democracy, inasmuch as it refused to

listen even to talk of struggle against fascism, and prompted social democracy to the path of compromise with the German bourgeoisie.

"The second cause of the advent of fascism to power was the conduct of the trade union leadership," said Aufheiser in his speech. "Here we have a distinction between the trade unions of Italy and Germany. In Italy the trade unions place themselves at the service of the great struggle against fascism. In Germany we partly outlived our own trade union policy, which was itself on the verge of a nationalist-socialist policy."

This is a valuable admission of a German trade union bureaucrat concerning the policy of the German Federation of Trade Unions. But this tale about a "good social democracy" and "bad trade union bureaucracy" had been started already by Otto Wels at the last conference of German social democracy. This was before the disgraceful conduct of the social-democratic fraction at the May session of the Reichstag, when Hitler reported on the foreign policy of the fascist government. But wherein lay the difference between the position of German social-democracy and that of the General Federation of Trade Unions on May 1st, when the leaders of social-democracy exposed the proclamation of the German Federation of Trade Unions, calling upon the workers to participate in the fascist "national labour holiday"? In what way was the action of the social-democratic faction in the Reichstag, in honouring Hitler, superior to the cringing of the bureaucrats of the German Federation of Trade Unions, before Goering? In what way did the policy of German social-democracy differ from the policy of the Trade Union Federation of July 20th, 1932, January 30th and February 28th, 1933? And in what way did the conduct of the leaders of Italian social-democracy and of the Italian trade unions, who as carefully, as systematically and as treacherously cleared the road for Italian fascism, for the capture of the trade unions, differ from it?

The gigantic fraud known as the "struggle" of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals against fascism consisted of the so-called proclamation of a boycott against fascist Germany. This "boycott" is proclaimed in a special resolution of the Brussels congress. This "boycott" which was proclaimed even before the Brussels congress by the British and Dutch trade unionists, represents an attempt to deceive the working masses, primarily the social-democratic workers and the members of the reformist trade unions, who demand a struggle against fascism, and divert them from the truly revolutionary anti-fascist struggle. It must create the illusion among the masses that social-fascism is really fighting against the fascist dictatorship in Germany, and, at the same time, divert the masses from the struggle against their own fascism, and their bourgeoisie which is developing along fascist lines. This "boycott" in the form in which it was proclaimed by the Amsterdam International represents a direct weapon of support of the national bourgeoisie in its struggle for markets, and of the robber policy of capitalist "autarchy"* at the expense of the toiling masses. Finally, this campaign, in the form in which it was drawn up by the Amsterdam and Second Internationals, represents a sharpening of the struggle against the Soviet Union, under the banner of which both the Paris Conference and the Brussels Congress took place.

That this is so is shown by the words and deeds of the social-fascists themselves. The Dutch trade union bureaucracy, in its boycott appeal, called upon the workers to buy none but Dutch goods. The "Social Democrat" organ of German social democracy in Czecho-Slovakia cynically explains to the Czecho-Slovakian capitalists, to both importers and exporters, that the boycott can only benefit them, and that they, in any case, will not suffer, inasmuch as American goods, thanks to the fall of the dollar, are now cheaper than German and inasmuch as fascist Germany, thanks to her policy of "autarchy," virtually closes her markets to foreign goods — including Czech.

It is hardly necessary to add that a real boycott which would consist primarily of the proclamation of a *transport boycott* against fascist Germany, and create a *united front* of the proletariat in the struggle against its *own* bourgeoisie, is resolutely rejected by the reformist trade union bureaucracy, despite all the proposals of the communists and revolutionary trade union organisations.

Nor is it necessary to add that even this boycott of *goods is not taken seriously* by the Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats themselves. This is shown by the cruel police repressions of the workers boycotting the German ships, particularly in those countries were social-democrats are in power, in Denmark and in Sweden.

In 1920, the Amsterdam International—forced, under the pressure of the masses, to proclaim a boycott of fascist Hungary, treacherously disrupted this boycott. In 1923 the Second and Amsterdam Internationals rejected the proposals of the Communist International and of the Profintern to carry out a joint transport boycott of fascist Italy. In 1933 the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy is again attempting to disrupt the anti-fascist struggle of the German and international proletariat, which the working masses

* "Autarchy." Economic isolation.—Ed.

are conducting under the leadership of the communist vanguard, the only force capable of leading the toiling masses in the fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, by using the weapons of a genuine (instead of a false, social fascist) boycott as part of the entire anti-fascist struggle of the German working class itself against its own bourgeoisie.

Such are the results of the Brussels Congress of the trade union bureaucrats. The Congress would have represented an incomplete picture of social-fascist deception of the working masses had no "left wing" proved to be there, with a knavish "revolutionary" phraseology. This group was represented primarily by the Polish delegation, in whose name the "terribly left" Bundist, Alter, spoke. This is the very same Bundist about whom Otto Wels spoke with purely "Aryan" contempt at the Vienna Congress. Now the Bundist has revenged himself upon Otto Wels. What did he not mention? The "failure of reformist policy," "the bluff of international agreements between capitalist governments," "the dictatorship of the proletariat" (speech at the Paris Conference), with the mean and stale Menshevist refrain that in the U.S.S.R. "there is no dictatorship of the proletariat" but only "a dictatorship over the proletariat," and that he, the Bundist Alter, is destined to reveal to the world the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This time the rôle of an "Aryan" was performed by Jouhaux, who laughingly patted Alter on the back, calling him "the prophet of the social revolution."

This "clash of interests" did not prevent the social-fascist leaders of all hues from putting up a united social fascist front against communism, as the interests of the whole camp of this chief social pillar of the bourgeoisie lie *on one plane, the plane of saving capitalism* from a revolutionary solution of the crisis. Therein lay the "united interests" of the whole social-fascist camp. "Marxism," as Lenin says, "judges the 'interests' on the basis of the class contradictions and class struggle manifesting themselves in millions of facts in every-day life."

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAMME OF ATTACK UPON THE WORKING CLASS!

By Vern Smith.

THE National Industrial Recovery Act (N.I.R.A.) is the central piece in the long line of legislation which the Roosevelt administration at Washington pushed through in its first four months.

To understand some of the N.I.R.A. peculiarities, Roosevelt's tactics must be examined for a moment. The President, and his advisers, the now famous "Brain Trust," and also the biggest business men who stay more out of the limelight, speculate on the uncritical, ardent wish of the petty-bourgeoisie, and a section of the proletarians and farmers for "good times again." It is apparent that the Roosevelt administration's tactic was to startle and shock the country into attention, make the wildest demagogic promises about "putting 6,000,000 men to work in three months," etc., and apparently back up these promises with a flood of novel and complicated legislation. The masses were told in frequent presidential speeches over nation-wide radio hook-ups, through a mobilisation of the capitalist press and all other agencies, that this legislation was bringing the "New Deal," good wages, short hours and prosperity.

This demagogic phase of the Roosevelt programme was carried out with really extraordinary skill, through the setting up of government propaganda bureaus similar to those used in the last war. So extreme and all inclusive was it, in its seizure of every method of publicity, that we find the extremely conservative Protestant Episcopal Church organ, *The Witness,* expressing some uneasiness in an August issue.

The first shock to the country was the closing of the banks, followed by the government economy measures, by the currency inflation bills (a number of them), by the bill appointing a Railroad Conciliator, by the Civilian Conservation Camps, by the Oil Conservation Bill, by the Farm Bill, by the 30-Hour Bill, by the National Industrial Recovery Bill, and now by the codes and arbitration court established under the N.I.R.A.

Since the Roosevelt administration was plainly relying on carrying things with a rush, it wasted little time arguing any point that met even slight obstacles in congresses, or from business men, because of division of interest. Such points of legislation were simply side-tracked for the moment, and re-appeared in slightly disguised form in the next bill proposed, on whatever subject. For example, the Black 30-Hour stagger plan bill slipped to one side, and its essential stagger-plan features are now law in the National Industrial Recovery Act. Practically the whole Roosevelt Programme was successfully passed

through congress, the Republican and Democratic parties, with few exceptions, uniting their votes for the Democratic President's measures.

Certain general principles appear in the Roosevelt programme, in all bills. Lurking under the demagogic phrases with which all are burdened, there can be found in each one, a scheme to capture foreign markets by reducing costs through reducing standards of living of the working masses, a scheme to set the farmers against the workers, and those working in industry against the unemployed, a scheme to concentrate dictatorial powers in the hands of the President, and a scheme to further concentrate industry in the hands of the biggest companies, the richest finance capitalists. Roosevelt, for publicity reasons, dared to bring Morgan himself under investigation for evasion of income tax laws, but it is worth noting that no harm was done to Morgan.

The banks were closed, the executive branch of the Government was made the sole judge as to which banks could re-open, and those were reopened which were attached to the biggest financial lords; many of the little fellows being simply closed out of business.

The President, through his Cabinet, was given, in the name of economy, the right to discharge Government employees and cut their wages almost at will.

The inflation bills give the executive the right to lower the purchasing power of the dollar within extremely wide limits, and thus to lower the standard of living.

The "Railroad Conciliator," a presidential appointee, can order mergers of hitherto competing lines, and during his régime there has already taken place a considerable decrease in employment of railroad workers. The Interstate Commerce Commission reported for June that there were 75,000 fewer railroad men at work than in June, 1932, these dismissals taking place in addition to the 700,000 or more laid off before June, 1932.

The Civilians' Conservation Camps ("Reforestation" or Forced Labour Camps) take some 250,000 young men from the relief lists in the cities, and place them under the orders of army officers. The relief the families were getting is replaced by 80 cents a day taken out of the boys' dollar a day wages. Of course, this is also a wage-cutting scheme for industry in general because of the example set. It is, likewise, the first step toward creating a reserve army for the next war.

The Oil Conservation Bill gives a presidential appointee the right to arbitrarily limit the supply of oil, and force mergers and pooling, naturally in the interests of the biggest corporations.

The Farm Bill promises the farmers a bonus if they show proof they have reduced their acreage one-fifth. This bonus is to be paid out of a tax on the first processor of farm products, which the processor is openly invited to pass on to the consumer by adding it to the sale price of his goods. This provision cuts in all directions. The limitation of the crop under capitalist competition raises the price of food which the mass consumer buys, including, frequently, the poor farmer as well.

Wild speculation by grain gamblers and bad crop reports, resulted in a sudden doubling of the price of wheat this spring, raising it to around $1 a bushel, after which there was a sudden downward pitch again but not back to the old levels. The $1.38 "processors' tax" per barrel of flour was more than passed on to the working masses in the shape of 20 to 30 per cent. increase in the price of bread. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace issued a public statement, July 9, that all master bakers should raise the price of a five-cent loaf of bread to six and one-third cents, or reduce the size of the loaf. The American Bakers' Association declared a two-ounce reduction in the size of the loaf.

The National Industrial Recovery Act is the crowning piece of the Roosevelt Administration legislation, and in it are all his principles of concentration of capital, of dictatorial powers for the President, of attempts to divide the workers, of lower standards of living — all smothered in the most extreme and clever demagogy. This bill was signed and made law June 16, 1933. It is to operate for two years, but may be ended sooner by proclamation of the President, or joint resolution of Congress.

The N.I.R.A. begins with the usual declarations about "reviving industry," etc., and proceeds to set aside the Federal Anti-Trust Law, and any federal or state industrial or labour statutes which may interfere with its operation.

Already special presidential commissions have engaged in strike-breaking, under authority of the N.I.R.A., the most important case being that of the ordering back to work of nearly 60-70,000 striking coal miners in Western Pennsylvania in July. The policy was worked out by a conference of Gerard Swope, of the General Electric Co., Walter Teagle, Chairman of the Board of Standard Oil, President William Green, of the American Federation of Labour, and International President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers. General Hugh Johnson, the N.I.R.A. administrator, and Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labour, issued the decision in the form of "advice" to the miners, and Lewis ordered them back in the name of the union. All this was done

even though the coal code was not then in force, and in fact, is not yet approved.

Immediately thereafter, General Johnson appointed, and Roosevelt approved in a special statement to the press from his Hyde Park estate a "Conciliation Board," really a compulsory arbitration court, to pass on all cases. The board is composed of Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, Chairman, and the following members: Gerard Swope, Walter C. Teagle, Leo Wollman, of the Labour Advisory Committee; Louis C. Kirksten, a Boston capitalist; William Green and John L. Lewis. Its organisation is similar to that of the War Labour Board in the World War.

Johnson issued a statement, signed also by the Labour Board of the N.I.R.A., which is characteristic of all the Roosevelt administration proclamations:

"We urge that all causes of irritation and industrial discontent be removed as far as possible . . . avoid aggressive action which tends to provoke industrial discord, and strive earnestly and zealously to preserve industrial codes applicable to all business, great and small."

The first code of great importance to be established was that for the cotton textile industry. The way it was set up is typical of all the others. It was worked out by a committee of the biggest employers, with participation by officials of the United Textile Workers. The part played by McMahon, of the U.T.W., was kept secret until exposed in an amusing and revealing incident at the hearing. McMahon, to quiet left-wing elements in his union, pretended to argue against some of the worst provisions of the code, and one of the aggrieved and bewildered "opposition officials" took him to task openly for going back on what he had previously agreed to!

At this same open hearing, which follows the proposal of the code and precedes its adoption, a delegation of textile workers, headed by June Croll, Lawrence, Mass., organiser of the National Textile Workers' Union of the Trade Union Unity League, appeared and demanded the same right to speak and propose changes in the code as was accorded to the employers and the U.T.W. officials. The N.T.W. delegation was at first refused the floor, but finally forced its way and was listened to politely — and completely disregarded

The code went through substantially in its original form. It contained a provision, for the looks of the thing, that all workers getting more than the minimum wage should have a slight wage raise. Roosevelt signed the code, July 11, to go into effect July 17. Right in the face of the N.T.W. delegation's vehement protest against the code, right in the face of the strikes then going on against wages equal to those prescribed in the code, Roosevelt announced:

"There was not one word of accusation and most unthinkable of all, it arrived at a solution which has the unanimous approval of all those conferring leaders on all three sides of the issue." (The three sides being Capital, Labour and the Government).

Then, on the day before the code went into effect, Roosevelt, under authority granted by the National Industrial Recovery Act, removed from the code the provision for raising the wage of those already getting more than the minimum in the code! This got very little publicity, all the capitalist press being centred on declarations that the code would re-employ thousands, that it abolished child labour and the "Yellow Dog Contract," that it allowed organisation of the workers, etc.

This is, in general, the way the codes are adopted. Now, let us look more closely at this same cotton textile code, as typical of them all, and see what it really means.

It provides, to be sure, that no one shall be forced to join a company union, and declares the right of workers to organise. But all procedure shows that the only union recognised is the U.T.W. and its affiliates, which took part in framing the code.

It provides that children shall not be hired in cotton mills, but provides no way to enforce this law, which is equivalent of many state laws that are consistently violated. It provides 40 hours maximum for a week's work, except for "shipping, watching, outside crews and cleaners." It provides a $12 minimum wage per week for southern mills and $14 minimum wage per week for northern mills, but excludes from these minimums, *"learners,* cleaners and outside employees." This is, first of all, discrimination against Negroes in southern mills who fall into the class of cleaners and outside employees.

But the most important "jokers" in the code are in the definition of the word "learner," and the absence of any provision about speed-up. It is, in fact, left to the discretion of the board in control, all employers or their agents, to decide how many "learners" will be used, or what a "learner" may be made to do. Reports are already coming in of wholesale firing of employees drawing a higher wage, who go home, come back and are re-hired as beginners, as "learners" drawing below the minimum wage.

The Roosevelt administration itself set the example for this sort of thing, which can be practised under practically all the codes, when it fired 1,700 coastguardsmen early in July. All these

men were of the higher paid groups. Then the Government announced that it would hire 3,300 men at third-class enlisted men's salaries, and that the 1,700 just laid off would be "given preference." This means, not a lay-off at all, but a wage-cut ranging from $21 to $50, and in some cases more, for the 1,700.

The National Textile Workers' Union Committee to the open hearing on the cotton textile code pointed out, that even wages that are now under the minimum in the code would not necessarily be raised if the minimum were applied, because there is no provision as to how much work must be done or paid for. The N.T.W. demanded a minimum yearly income of $720 for the workers, a guarantee of at least 40 weeks' work per year, at no less than 30 hours per week, and with a 60-cent per hour minimum wage.

This implies the answer to the Roosevelt argument that the 40-hour maximum per week (or 48 or 35 or 32, for it varies) means more employment. It would do this only if the industry were really working that many hours per week over long periods in the year. But in practically all industries the practice now is two or three days a week. How then can the 40-hour maximum mean more hiring? The worker has already a shorter work week than that, and doesn't like it. To offer him a 40-hour maximum is the same sort of generosity as an offer to give away ice at the North Pole. This would mean not more hiring of labour-power, but halving the working force, working some full-time, and even throwing the others out. Of course, there are a few exceptional, usually seasonal, industries like the garment trades and automobile manufacture where the length of the work week maximum is important.

The other important "joker" in the cotton code, and in most of the others, is speed-up. The codes say nothing about the speed of work. Already there is evidence, in the form of workers' letters, that speed-up is a big factor in the application of the codes. One such letter, a typical one, recounts on August 4, about two weeks after the cotton code went into effect, that the Marion, N.C., cotton mills have instituted a "stretch-out" (speed-up) by forcing employees to work six to ten "sides," a bigger "stretch-out" than was ever before imposed at a single time. Hosiery mills in that town now demand production from each worker in eight hours of 15 dozen pairs of socks, instead of the former 14 dozen in ten hours.

A weaver of the Mace Manufacturing Co., Brooklyn, reported August 12, that the boss announced that anybody who couldn't make the minimum on piece-work in 40 hours would be fired. The speed was so great, the piece-work price so low, that some experienced men were fired who could not average half the amount. And there are other similar cases, which undoubtedly will multiply as soon as the employers get around to it.

The provision against company unions can easily be violated. Without calling it by that name, a company union can be instituted, under the codes and by authority of the N.I.R.A.—by simply calling the men together and conducting a fake election of "representatives." On August 16, President Green, of the A.F.L., ordered 14,000 Reading, Pa., hosiery strikers back to work without any demands won, and agreed to this "employee representation" company union scheme. In general, though, the A.F.L. opposes company unions both for demagogic reasons and out of a natural desire to collect the dues through its own unions.

This question came to an issue in the Steel Code, adopted and signed August 23. As originally drawn this code provided for a company union plan of "employee representation" with fairly elaborate details written into the code right along with the compulsory clause ordered by the N.I.R.A., that workers should not be compelled to join any company union. As usual in such laws made by employers, the whole question turns on the interpretation of each clause. The U.S. Steel Corporation was prepared to argue that such "employee representation" was not a company union. This corporation has had a consistent policy for open shop, or at most for company unions, for decades.

The A.F.L. heads, particularly Green, put up opposition. Also, it was a good talking point to raise prestige of the A.F.L. among workers generally. So intrigued with this opportunity were they, that Green insisted on and did deliver his anti-company union speech at the open hearings, after the companies had waived the point and agreed to abandon this part of the code. The real reason for their change of plan, of course, was neither Green's forthcoming speech, nor any legalistic interpretation of the code. It was the fact that the unorganised workers of the steel industry in plant after plant, especially in Gary, met and denounced the company union plan. In some cases they heard the speakers of the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union of the T.U.U.L.

On examining the steel code, we find in other respects a resemblance to the textile code, and all others. There is the prohibition of labour under 16 years of age, which means little here, however, as the steel industry is not a particularly good one in which to employ children. There is the same proposal for minimum wages, to differ in various parts of the country, ranging in this case from 40 cents. per hour in Pennsylvania,

Ohio, Illinois and Colorado, to 27 cents an hour in Birmingham, where many Negroes are worked.

There is the same way left open for wholesale wage cuts by excluding from the minimum wage provision the "beginners and learners," with definition of such categories left to the bosses. Piece work is important in the steel industry, and it is evidently up to the employer to decide what piece-rates, in their opinion, will equal the hourly wage stated in the code. Indirect wage-cutting through speed-up is no less important than in textiles, and again the code leaves the whole question open to the employers; it doesn't mention the subject.

The steel code does provide for a 15 per cent. raise in wages of all getting over the minimum. The companies, with the whole capitalist press for a sounding board, declared this was a wage raise for 100,000 workers. Actually the raise was offset by the wage cuts of recent years, and by juggling of piece-rates. Anyway, the National Industrial Council reports a month before the code was announced that the average wage was 48 cents per hour. The highest minimum allowed is 40 cents.

Steel workers get so few days' work a week, one or two before the flurry of production this spring (already declining again) that a difference of a few hours' work actually obtained overbalances entirely the few cents raise, even if they get it.

In steel, no more than in textiles, is there any provision for a guaranteed amount of work. A limit of 40 hours for a man who is working only 12 means little. But the industry writes into the code a policy of continuing the stagger system.

Another important code already signed and in force is that submitted for 85 per cent. of the lumber industry by the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. Here we find most of the usual features, attempts to split the workers up by territories with higher wages in some and lower in others, etc., but with the added feature that the South, where there is a goodly percentage of Negroes, is provided not only with the low wage but with the longest work week, 48 hours, though camp work in the North and West also gets the 48-hour week, and a 44 and 40 hour limit is reserved for lumber manufacture mostly, sawmills, etc.

The lumber industry in its logging end is largely camp work, and follows the plan of hiring fewer men and really working them most of the time, so the long week means something to the employer, and his interests are cared for in the code. Otherwise, he might possibly have trouble with large crowds of men starving in isolated camps.

Lumber wage scales are made, ranging from 22½ to 42½ cents an hour, depending on the locality and branch of the industry. The old trick about piece-work is brought in, no provision being made in the code for determining the ratio of piece-work to the basic hourly rate, and therefore it is left to the employers to decide. There is no provision for a guarantee of any amount of work, and the appeal of the conference of lumber workers held July 15-16, in Seattle, for a guarantee of a six-hour day and five-day week minimum was simply brushed aside.

In the lumber industry the worker is charged for his board and bed in the camps. The code says nothing about this, and the way is wide open for any amount of indirect wage-cutting by raising the prices of meals and lodging in the camps.

The Automobile Manufacturers' Code, prepared by General Motors, but not signed yet because of quarrels between the Morgan controlled companies and Ford, follows the same general line, but has an important feature stressed about longer hours at certain periods. Other codes provide that skilled workers engaged in important tasks may be worked longer hours than the minimum to avoid waste. But the whole automobile industry during the crisis works by spurts and starts. Either completely idle, or running with a skeleton crew for months, the auto factory will suddenly run full blast for a few weeks to provide the season's supply of cars. The employers quite cheerfully agree in the code that there shall be a 35-hour week and 40 cent minimum wage. That means, during the time they are shut down. But the code contains a carefully-worded clause that "when necessary," that is to say, during the period of actual production, the hours are to be 48, which is what they are now, anyway.

Another important industry, the code for which has not been signed yet because of quarrels among the employers, will still exhibit the code trickery in a glaring form. This is in bituminous coal.

The bulk of the northern coal operators in at least nominally union fields, published on July 14 a code providing for division of the industry into a North-Eastern Division, Applachian Division, Central Division, South-Western Division and Western Division. They set the wages at $5 a day for track layers, and generally for all skilled labour underground. The minimum wage for other below-ground help, which means large percentages of the men, was put at $4.75 a day, and for above-ground men, $4 a day except for slate and sulphur pickers. Then it provided that sections far from the centres of coal shipment, which means especially the South, should have the right to a differential not to exceed five per cent.

It was over this that the row started. Mines

with a long way to ship demanded vastly greater differences in wages. No less than eight codes were offered by hastily grouped companies, many of which overlap in territory. There also developed a split among the northern groups. The Northern Coal Control Association, representing the mostly non-union fields of Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and Northern West Virginia proposed wages of $4 and $3. The Smokeless and Applachian Coal Association down through Southern West Virginia, Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee proposed wages of $3.60 to $2.60 for Southern fields. These two groups together control 70 per cent. of the production, so the chance for a $5 minimum wage looks slim, if left to the operators.

At present the highest wages paid are in the mines controlled by the reformist Progressive Miners of America, in Illinois, and they are nominally $5.10. Actually the contract is violated quite generally, but the Illinois wages are still somewhere within "speaking distance" of the $5 rate, for a couple of days' work a week. In the South there have been cases of men earning a dollar a day, one or two days a week.

It is not apparent yet what the decision on wages will be, but whatever it is, the miner won't get it. In the coal industry they don't have to bother around with tricks about "learners and apprentices." The technique of violating written contracts is highly evolved, and has been practiced for years with the help of United Mine Worker officials in the union fields, without them in non-union fields.

It works along three main channels, each of which is made easy by the proposed coal codes. One is wrong tonnage rates, one is short weight, and the third is excessive check-off.

Mining is nearly all piece-work, payment by the ton. The basic day-rate has to be translated into tonnage rates, supposed to equal it and necessarily differing from place to place. It all depends who sets the tonnage rates. A strong, honest union would negotiate them somewhere near the basic rate, and would insist on payment for "dead work," that is clearing bottom and other jobs which do not directly produce much coal.

All the proposed codes leave this fixing of tonnage rates to the employer, which of course, does not mean the U.M.W.A. officials may not also continue to help in the swindle where that union is recognised.

Then, mis-weighing the miners' coal is so common as to be the rule. The company weighman finds it weighs a ton, and calls it 1,750 pounds, or 1,200 pounds, or anything he wants to. The U.M.W.A. checkweighmen are notoriously corrupt. The present codes, most of them, say that the miners may elect a checkweighman. In U.M.W.A. fields this means he will be, in effect, appointed by U.M.W. officials. In other fields, another provision in the proposed coal-codes comes into practice. In mines which, in the language of the most liberal of the coal codes, that of the union fields, "are not equipped to weigh coal, a reasonable time shall be allowed to so equip the mines." What reasonable time? Well, the N.I.R.A. has two years to run, so that is probably what is meant. The company expert will guess at the weight, the miners' man, even if honest, cannot prove the company is wrong. And there are other ways of preventing an honest checkweighman from going on the tipple, all of which have been tested in practice.

The company may deduct ("check-off") from the miners' pay anything it wants to for rent in company houses, for supplies at company stores, for working materials like caps, powder and fuse, for fines for "dirty coal." There is absolutely no control over any of these charges in the proposed codes. Only the boss will decide what coal is dirty. Regular wage cuts in fines are a common thing in the coal industry.

True, the codes generally prescribe that the miner shall not be forced to live in a company house, nor forced to buy in a company store, nor shall he be paid in scrip, but shall be paid in money or "checks at par." That "check" business may mean anything, especially if there is only a company bank or no bank at all at the mining town, and the miner has to cash his check at the company store. But even if he gets cash he will have to live in a company house and trade at company stores, at outrageous prices, in spite of what the code says. Some states now have laws providing he does not have to do these things, and it is a general practice of coal bosses to tell the public the miner doesn't have to, even if there is no law. The miner just knows that unless he does, he will soon be fired for having "too much dirty coal," or on some other technicality. Furthermore, there are whole areas in Western Pennsylvania, in Eastern Kentucky, in Eastern Ohio and West Virginia where there are no houses but company houses, and no stores but company stores.

In one way or another, the miners' wages, without a fighting union, which the U.M.W.A. is not, will be far below the code minimum.

Incidentally, the best coal code, by recognising only 32 hours' work a week, limits the miner to four days a week. The eight-hour day provided in the coal codes specifically states eight hours at the working face, and the miner spends his noon hour and his time going and coming to and from

work, on his own unpaid time. It may really mean a ten or eleven-hour day.

Above are described the more important, specific codes. There are altogether some 80 of them, in all stages of preparation and adoption. In addition there is a blanket code, "prescribed by the President," which applies wherever there is no other code adopted. It does order a minimum of 52 hours a week work for stores and service stations, a maximum of 40 for banking, clerical service and sales employees and transportation workers, a maximum for factory workers, artisans and mechanical workers of 35 hours, until the end of 1933, with many exceptions for each group. It provides for clerical and transportation workers a minimum wage of $15 in cities of over a half-million population, graded down to $12 in cities under 2,500 population. It sets the minimum wage at 40 cents an hour for artisans, factory and mechanical workers unless they were getting less in 1929, and for these a minimum of 30 cents is set. As will be seen, the wages are quite low, though they can be still further lowered by making specific codes to cover particular industries.

A miner or a steel worker making from $2 to $8 a week would think he was going to get perhaps $20 out of it. It was not at first realised, and is not yet realised completely, that wages above the minimum were going to be cut to the minimum, that many would be paid below the minimum through the trickery in the codes.

The A.F.L. leaders delivered passionate eulogies of the "New Deal" and of the N.I.R.A. They also conducted membership drives "to take advantage of the New Deal," which brought thousands into their unions, though not as many as they said. For example, the U.M.W.A. leaders claimed through the press that "all West Virginia" is now organised, whereas, at the most, some thousands joined. In Kentucky they claimed 2,000 new members, counting all who attended their meetings as converts. But they did win many, so did the United Textile Workers, and other A.F.L. unions. This bears testimony to the fact that the workers accepted the codes at face value. Without looking carefully for the "jokers" they appear in many cases to promise wage raises and (for workers on one or two days a week) more jobs.

Along with this went a considerable increase in production; which may be indicated by the rise of the Annalist Business Activity Index from 60 for the week ending March 18 (just after Roosevelt began his drive) to 86.4 (not counting cotton forwardings) for the week ending July 15. The Annalist index shows that from March to July the index figure for pig-iron production rose from 15.5 to 59.6, for bituminous coal production it rose from 52.8 to 76.9, for electric power production from 62.2 to 74.5, for automotive production from 27.0 to 63.1, and for car-loadings from 49.3 to 63.5.

These substantial increases were accompanied by an extremely small increase in employment of labour power. Figures are lacking here for employment in June and July, but the increase from March to May was so slight as to be negligible, whereas the increase from March to May in business activity was from an index figure of 56.9 to 66.9. We may assume that, at first, most of the slack was taken up by giving a few more hours of work to men already hired, plus speed-up, but the increase from May to the middle of July undoubtedly hired some tens of thousands or more. Reports arrived of men getting jobs. Now the turn downward seems to be made again, it is evident that the production was speculative, based on a belief prices would rise because of inflation of currency.

It is probable that even with only slight re-employment, the mere spectacle of increased production stimulated some hopes in the workers, and that the increased production probably made the codes more palatable. The masses, in their first uncritical attitude toward the codes, did not stop to consider that with wages fixed, inflation would slash their real wages.

Now, in larger and larger numbers, workers begin to revolt against low-wage rates, whether in the codes or not. The first strikes for the enforcement of the code provisions are developing into a wave of strikes, involving between 400,000 and 500,000 workers throughout the country. They are strikes mainly against rates of pay that are either in the codes, or about the same as those in the codes. In certain places anger rises against Roosevelt. A picket line of 2,000 before the Cambria Silk Hosiery Plant is reported to have stoned the Blue Eagle displayed there. And there are other such bits of evidence. At present (September 16th) capitalist telegraph agencies report the strike of 30,000 miners in Western Pennsylvania. This is the second strike for this month. According to reports the strike is growing. In Eastern Pennsylvania thousands of silk factory workers are out, in New England thousands of textile workers, and in New York 30,000 tailoring workers.

The codes aim at further centralising industry in the control of the biggest capitalists, just as all the rest of Roosevelt's acts do. They do not increase production, in fact, most of them have provisions for limiting production. They cannot bring prosperity, but lead to an increase in the fight for foreign markets. Figures available at present do not show any success in this direction.

The Annalist gives total foreign trade exports in June, this year, as $117,533,000 and in June last year as $109,487,000, a trivial increase. Furthermore, during the same period, foreign trade imports rose from $110,000,000 to $122,262,000 that is, the balance of trade is worse than it was a year ago.

When the inflation and race for cheaper costs disillusions whole millions, when he cannot keep his promises of re-employment, the problem of the struggle for foreign markets through foreign war will become more acute. In this connection, it may be noted that, besides the C.C.C. camps he has declared the building of 31 new warships to be "public works" and is using millions of the $3,300,000 appropriated under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, to build the new navy.

The C.P. of U.S.A. and the revolutionary Unions have given, in general, a correct estimation of the Roosevelt programme, but in definite cases the demagogy of Roosevelt has even influenced certain sections of revolutionary organisations. For example, in the coal industry, in the localities where our revolutionary national union of miners led the struggle, the question of the miners entering this union arose, and not the reactionary United Mineworkers of America. Wide masses of the miners, succumbing to the promises of Roosevelt, nevertheless joined the United Mineworkers. Our supporters should have continued their exposure of the trickery of this union and Roosevelt, but at the same time they should have entered this union together with the working masses. This would have helped them to rapidly learn how to co-ordinate the struggle inside this reactionary union with the struggle outside it and how to lead these masses when they are disillusioned, realising that the code offers them absolutely nothing.

A series of questions crop up, for example, concerning the method of penetrating the factories, to the extent that the code does not entail the taking on of a large number of new workers. The decision of this question consists in the utilisation of the fluctuation of labour power, considerably increased by the code, and in strengthening the unity of the employed and unemployed.

In such a rapid progress of events our Press must have greater flexibility and explain the codes to the workers in the factories and pits more concretely.

Together with this, the Press must show the workers more clearly what to do, how to organise the first groups of opposition to lowering of the standard of life, which demands to advance, what to do in each individual case.

Limitations in reference to negroes figure in many codes, and the struggle against these must continue on the basis of a precise explanation to negroes as also whites, of the meaning of the Roosevelt policy, and also not only for the workers in general, but separately for them.

The struggle against the war danger coincides now with that of the unemployed in connection with the events taking place in the forced labour camps and on relief works.

It is also necessary to consider that Roosevelt, most probably, will respond to the disillusionment of the mass with sharpened terror. So far he has tried to deceive them, but this cannot go on indefinitely.

Our Party and Trade Unions must be ready. If the problems before the Party are great, then great are also the prospects of success, the growth and leadership of extending struggles, and if our Party previously reacted very slowly, we already have signs of the fact that it is now working better and will, in future, work still better.

THE NORWEGIAN ACCOMPLICES OF FENNER BROCKWAY AND CO.

By Arvid Hansen.

THE "left" leaders of the Independent Labour Party in England, who actually go as far as the Rights, are only too ready to refer to the policy and programme of an arch-"revolutionary" independent party like the Norwegian Labour Party. The more so, since the latter was a member of the Third International for a short period during the early years of the formation of the latter.

The Anglo-Saxon specialist on the Norwegian Labour Party, Natwig Pedersen, in the December-January number of the American "Labour Age" published in 1933, published a special article explaining why a party like the Norwegian Labour Party "was suffocated in the close confinement of the Comintern." It is typical that the author builds up the main point of the accusation on the fact that only parties "consisting exclusively of true revolutionaries" can enter the Comintern. Natwig Pedersen, apparently is solid on this point with Fenner Brockway, who considers that the Labour Party should consist both of true revolutionaries and of "true" counter-revolutionaries. What, at present, is the rôle of the Norwegian Labour Party? The last congress of this party, held in May, 1933, gives us an unambiguous answer to this question. Both in its new programme declaration and in the working programme, the Congress is in favour of "State capitalism," of "organised capitalism," in the spirit of the Kiel party congress of the social-democratic party, and partially, even, for the introduction of the corporate system of Italian fascism in Norway.

In the resolution which it passed the Norwegian Labour Party categorically prohibits its members taking part in any mass organisations like the "Society of Friends of the Soviet Union," the "Red International Aid," and so on, and declares that such participation is incompatible with membership of the Norwegian Labour Party. Further, the congress approved, on definite conditions, participation in the so-called campaign of help to agriculture during the crisis, which is being conducted by fascist demagogues. At the same time the Congress rejected and prohibited all attempts at a united front with Communist workers—and passed a resolution concerning the organisation of a so-called "Faktwehr," i.e., a selected guard of civil war against the revolutionary movement of the workers.

Finally, in its programme of demands to the forthcoming October parliamentary elections, the Congress of the Norwegian Labour Party came out not in the interests and for the demands of the working class, but for the "common-weal," for the interests of all classes of society which, in other words, means openly ignoring the class interests and aims of the proletariat.

On the question of international connections of the Norwegian Labour Party, the Congress passed an extremely reactionary resolution on close political collaboration with social-democratic governments of the Swedish and Danish parties and with Finnish social-democracy, i.e., with parties which openly support the policy of German social-democracy. The "revolutionary" Tranmael, hand in hand with Stauning, who issued the "No Strikes" order, and Alven Hansen, the leader for the defence of the Göering case in Sweden—such is the picture of the current policy of the Norwegian Labour Party.

It is extremely characteristic for this line of policy that the following declaration was made ta the Congress by the party's theoretician, Colbernsen:

> "Hitler meant nothing until he had, by parliamentary means, acquired forty to fifty per cent. of all the mandates in the Reichstag. When he had achieved this main condition, he swept away the whole front of the social-democrats and communists."

By these lying "arguments" the leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party want to prove that fascism can be smashed by parliamentary methods, by voting for the social-democratic party during the autumn parliamentary elections; and that fascist dictatorship can be avoided by peaceful means. But there were clear examples directly after the Norwegian Labour Party Congress which showed the results of such a policy in actual practice. Mowinckel's "left" government, in agreement with the bourgeois parties, introduced a bill prohibiting the use of boycotts and blockades as a trade union method of struggle in the economic battles of the working class. In accordance with the slogans of the Norwegian Communist Party, many local trade unions demanded the declaration of a general strike of protest against anti-trade union legislation, which, both in content and form, fully answered all the requirements of the Norwegian fascists. In the biggest industrial undertaking of Norway, Borrergarde, a 24-hour strike of protest took

place, despite the efforts made by the reformists to prevent it.

What did the Norwegian Labour Party do? In its press it not only opposed the general strike, or any kind of mass action outside parliamentary methods, but also action on the part of the workers in the localities, at the same time sowing illusions about the abolition of the law by parliamentary methods. How could this bill get through parliament? Only by the support given to the capitalists by the Norwegian Labour Party, only because the Norwegian Labour Party supported the Mowinckel government. Only because the Norwegian Labour Party lulled the vigilance of the working class, doing its utmost to smash active resistance to this reactionary legislation.

Of course, the leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party made use of no less "left" manoeuvres at this Congress than Fenner Brockway and Co. in England. For example, here are a few "left" phrases uttered by the leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party: "Social revolution," "the adoption of any action during the transition period . . . " "the struggle against the fascist danger," "the struggle against all bourgeois parties . . . ," "defence of the trade unions against the attacks of reaction," "extension of democracy," "for the idea of the Soviet constitution . . . ," "mass action against the auctioning of the property of the peasantry in the villages . . . ," "Labour to be extended to the whole of the population . . . ," "all power to the workers . . . ," "for socialist Norway," etc.

The opposition was very weakly represented at the Congress. There was no established principled revolutionary opposition at all. But the mood of the working masses against the coalition policy of the Norwegian Labour Party with the bourgeois left parties, against the whole social-fascist line of the party, broke out more or less spontaneously during the discussions and the voting on several separate questions raised at the Congress. For example, one worker, a functionary of one of the Oslo trade unions, spoke against the prohibition of members belonging to the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union. This proposal, together with all the other proposals made by the opposition, was turned down by a majority of votes.

What road is being taken by the Norwegian Labour Party—the very party which Fenner Brockway and others of the well-known "left" leaders of social-democracy hail on the international arena as a "revolutionary independent labour party"?

To find the answer to this question we must see how the Norwegian Labour Party behaves at present on certain important questions, both practical and in principle, of the international labour movement.

I.—THE TRANSITION OF THE NORWEGIAN LABOUR PARTY TO AN OPEN POLICY OF COALITION.

A few months ago a governmental crisis ensued in Norway as the result of several causes. The government of the peasant party had gone too far in meeting the special interests of agrarian capital, at the expense of the interests of industrial capital. Moreover, the "peasant government" found itself unable to make use of social-democracy in the interests of finance capital to the degree the capitalists considered necessary. Finally, the peasant government disgraced itself in the sphere of foreign policy by occupying Eastern Greenland. This was an open imperialistic action, put through without the sanction of parliament and which—and this is most important of all — resulted in defeat for the Norwegian bourgeoisie in the conflict which ensued with the Danish bourgeoisie. Moreover, there is also the essential point that the bourgeoisie drew the conclusion from the experiences of the big strike movement in 1931 and other mass battles, that a far *more subtle* policy must be used, that the dictatorship of capital must be better marked, and *new forms and methods* used in deceiving the masses, if the move to the left of the working masses was to be held back for the time being, if "a working peace were to be observed until 1935" (on the basis of the extension of the collective agreements through a compromise between the reformists and the owners), and if the growth of the revolutionary working-class movement in Norway is to be stopped. This was to have made it possible for the capitalists, on the one hand, by "legal methods" and without any great resistance on the part of the masses, to gradually "fascise" the "democratic" state apparatus, and adopt a whole system of reactionary "anti-democratic" and "anti-liberal" measures through the "democratic" government, and, on the other, more widely develop the fascist mass movement, safeguarded in this by the "democratic" state.

When, as a result of all this, a change of government took place in Norway, how did the "revolutionary" independent Norwegian Labour Party react to it? As one might imagine, it took the line of the "lesser evil." It declared its attitude to be a positive one towards the government of the bourgeois left. It declared its readiness to the leader of the bourgeois left party, President Mowinckel, to *support the Mowinckel government on the basis of the principles formulated by the latter.*

By way of supplying a basis for the turn towards open coalition, the leader of the social-

democratic fraction in the Störting, Ingaardsvold, stated the following, according to the report of the "Arbeiterbladet":

"For our part we understand affiliation to this platform to be not in the interests of endless discussions, but as an absolutely actual thing. *The foreign situation is extremely serious. This is of decisive importance for us.* (My italics—A.H.) Therefore we declare that if a government can be formed which assumes the task of solving these questions indicated in the declaration, we shall support such a government."

What, then, concretely and in actual practice from the viewpoint of working-class interests, is the actual meaning of the Mowinckel platform, which is the basis of the change in government?

The platform speaks of further limitations in the sphere of insurance against unemployment, and a further curtailment of the budget for national education in the interests of "sanierung"* of the State finances, viz., in the interests of the class of capitalists who are the rulers in this State.

This platform says (although, like all such reactionary measures in the guise of "Liberal" theses, it is formulated in exceptionally masked form) that salaries of State employees must be reduced by so-called free negotiations.

This platform says that the policy of putting the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers in the form of mass and indirect taxation will be continued, ostensibly for the purpose of putting through measures for cutting down the number of unemployed on the basis of an extensive programme of work to be supplied to them.

This platform talks of the legislation existing in Norway against the trade unions, which must be supplemented in order to avoid in future, as far as possible, a repetition of the "negative manifestations" of class battles carried on by the trade unions.

Yet the fraction of the Norwegian Labour Party in the Störting gave its consent to all these measures, pointing out the need for electing the "lesser evil" and serving the "interests of the unemployed." The Norwegian Labour Party unconditionally expressed itself in favour of the governmental platform of the capitalists, represented by the steamship company-owner and millionaire, Johann Ludwig Mowinckel.

In his speech on the change in government, Ingaardsvold said, moreover, the following:

"If I have subscribed the names of my fraction to the thesis issued, I must say that we consider the last point to be the most important, since it sets as its task that of finding means for stimulating useful productive labour. Later it will be possible to dwell on the question of the size of this emergency tax. I see things this way: we shall agree to the creation of revenues by indirect taxation, side by side with direct taxation, if both these methods make it possible to mitigate unemployment to some extent.

"We shall not refuse to adopt any means. At the same time the crisis of indebtedness is also making itself felt and putting forward its demands. As for negotiations with State employees, I have already expressed by regret concerning the fact that these negotiations were broken off by the government. On this point also we agree with the demand that free negotiations be resumed on the basis of the last point of the declaration concerning the question of unemployment."

We can sum up the results of this policy, introduced with the support of the Norwegian Labour Party, right away. What were they?

Mowinckel's liberal government, which the leaders of the "revolutionary" Norwegian Labour Party helped to bring into the world, has considerably raised the price of bonds in connection with articles of mass consumption like coffee and sugar. Mowinckel, the friend of the Norwegian Labour Party and its ally, has cut the wages of the lower categories of government employees by 5-6 per cent., and moreover has done it on a "voluntary" basis with the help of the Norwegian Labour Party and the reformist trade union leaders. He put this through, in spite of energetic protest on the part of individual groups of government employees such as, for instance, the telegraph and telephone workers.

The government of the "lesser evil" mobilised the State police to assist in the public sale of the property of the impoverished peasants. It gave political support to the creation of a capitalist guard for use in civil war against the workers, the organisation of the "leudangen"; and assigned State finance to help subsidise its units, which are organised and led by fascist officers.

The same government kept the emergency legislation which deprives the unemployed in receipt of social insurance of the right to be elected to posts in the municipal boards in force, which maintained the existing low rate of relief to the unemployed, and deprived them of communal benefits, etc. In connection with the conflict which took place between the State, as the owner, and the workers of the wine monopoly, this government published a decision concerning the partial prohibition of strikes in Norway. In open alliance with the bourgeois Right parties, it put through the Störting the detested reactionary legislation on boycotts, which, together with the

* Cleaning-up—straightening State finances.

already existing penal legislation concerning the defence of strikebreakers, and in strict harmony, supplementing the latter, has created a broader legal basis from which by State and non-State measures, more or less ostentatious fascist pressure can be used against the struggle of the forestry and agricultural workers and all workers in general, on behalf of their direct interests. This indirect measure also helps the reformist trade union leaders fulfil their rôle as strikebreakers. In addition, the Minister of Justice of Mowinckel's "liberal" government, declared from the tribune of the Störting that the police made a mistake when, during the big lockout in Menstad in 1931, they were mobilised by the government of the peasant party to disperse workers' demonstrations fighting against strikebreakers they left their revolvers at home.

The secret of these successes on the part of the capitalists is that Mowinckel uses the support of the Norwegian Labour Party, which still leads the majority of the Norwegian working class in its train. The Norwegian Labour Party either absolutely openly supported the government's policy, as was the case, for instance, on the question of cutting the wages of government employees, or it *limited itself to verbal criticism, and avoided any kind of action.* Sometimes, moreover, as on the question of the boycott legislation, it came out directly *against* the mass movement of the workers, thus directly helping the government to cut down still more the rights of the trade unions within the framework of "democratic" Norwegian legislation.

Who is really responsible for the fact that coffee and sugar have gone further beyond the reach of the Norwegian workers and peasants, that the wages of the lower categories of State employees have been reduced, that the trade unions were menaced with the introduction of a new penal law, that the economic and political action on the part of the bourgeoisie against the working class and toilers in general is increasing? The "revolutionary" Independent Labour Party of Norway, the brother party of Fenner Brockway and Co., is responsible for this, because from the very beginning it supported, unconditionally and completely, the platform of the government, it made out to the working masses that the reactionary government and its policy was the "lesser evil," it put forward the alternative: "Mowinckel or the fascist Kuinsling," it hid the "fascisation" of the State apparatus, it rejected the appraisement given of this government as a government preparing for fascism in Norway, and refused all the proposals of the Communist Party for the creation of a militant united front to resist all the attacks of the capitalists and their governments, and the offensive of reaction and fascism in Norway. It was derisive about the proposal for the united front and *directly undermined it* with the help of every possible measure of demagogy and repression, thus fulfilling the orders of the bourgeoisie.

This is the balance to date of the "new era" in the policy of the Norwegian Labour Party, an era of open, coalition policy, which aims at overcoming the resistance which the working class is making to the offensive of capital, reaction and fascism. This is the balance, to date, of the policy of the "lesser evil" on Norwegian ground, and of the experiments in transferring the treacherous policy of German social-democracy into Norway.

It should be remembered that this policy was no other than that of laying the road for fascist dictatorship, and that it was demagogically recommended by the leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party as a policy which was the result of the "lessons of German events," and first and foremost necessary in the interests of the Norwegian unemployed.

This is the sum total of the new stage of "development" of the Norwegian Labour Party, whose political line is more and more coinciding with that of the Second International and other parties which *formally* belong to the latter.

2.—DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND THE NORWEGIAN LABOUR PARTY.

Events in Germany have clearly shown to the working masses, including also great masses of the social-democratic workers, that the ideology and policy of so-called "democratic socialism" is completely bankrupt. At the same time Tranmael, "left" leader of the Norwegian Labour Party, who, as we know, is *also* in favour of "social revolution," is also in favour of the slogan for "extending democracy," for "another road" to socialism; not the Russian road, for the "idea of the Soviet government but without its forms" (!), against the adoption of force in the proletarian class struggle, in favour of the disarmament slogan, etc. In a word, he is in favour of a provincial Norwegian edition of the whole of that bankrupt "democratic socialism."

To prove the possibility of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, without a revolution, in Norway—"a small neutral country which has known no wars for 100 years"—the "theoreticians" of the Norwegian Labour Party utilise all kinds of falsifications of the principles of Marxism. For example, in his pamphlet on the Marx anniversary, entitled "Marx and Marxism," Olaf Begheim converts Marx into the creator of the theory which made a definite dividing line between the two categories of state: on the one hand,

absolutist, and semi-absolutist states, where revolution is essential and inevitable, and on the other hand "democratic states," where a peaceful transition to socialism is fully possible. Olaf Begheim writes as follows:

"According to his dialectic-materialistic point of view, Marx deals with peaceful, as well as the bloody, class struggle. Political and economic conditions in each individual country in this sense are of decisive importance. In a general form he considers it probable that the emancipation struggle of the working class in absolutist and semi-absolutist states must be carried on by means of armed force. In states built upon a democratic basis he considers it possible as an exception for the development of capitalism to socialism to take place in a peaceful form . . . " (Begheim, "Marx and Marxism," pp. 57-58).

It becomes absolutely obvious that all this is distortion of the doctrines of Marx, a distortion which most strongly contradicts dialectic materialism itself. It is true that in the sixties and seventies, and not on the Continent but in England, Marx considered that it would be possible for the transition to socialism to take place without a violent overthrow, for at that time there existed no highly developed militarism in England, no strong political power and network of bureaucracy. But since then there have been great changes in all this. The worst form of falsification of Marx' and Engels' doctrine is this catching hold of the words and transforming the vital, revolutionary spirit of the Marxian theory into its direct opposite. This is what Comrade Stalin wrote on this point:

"Marx's restricting phrase about the continent gave the opportunists and Mensheviks of all countries an opportunity of shouting that Marx, as it were, allowed the possibility of the peaceful development of bourgeois democracy into proletarian democracy, at any rate in certain countries not included in the European Continent (England, America). Marx, indeed, allowed this possibility, and he had every cause to make such a reservation for England and America in the seventies of last century, when there was as yet no monopolist capitalism, when there was as yet in those countries, by force of the special conditions of their development, no highly developed militarism and bureaucracy. This was the case before the appearance of developed imperialism. But later, thirty or forty years later, when the position of affairs in these countries had become radically changed, when imperialism had developed and seized all the capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy appeared in America and England, when the special conditions for the peaceful development of England and America had disappeared —the restriction about these countries had to be dropped of necessity." ("Questions of Leninism," Stalin.)

And Lenin writes:

"To-day, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this exception made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have to-day plunged headlong into the all-European dirty, bloody morass of military bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything underfoot. To-day, both in England and in America, the 'precondition of any real people's revolution' is the *break-up*, the *shattering* of the 'ready-made state machinery' (brought in those countries between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection). (Lenin: "State and Revolution.")

Another version of the Norwegian Labour Party thesis of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in so-called democratic states is the tendency to attach this thesis, at any rate on a local scale, to Scandinavia, and in general to those countries which did not take part in the world war. In these countries, it is alleged that there exists a "more healthy" capitalism, which can convert itself along the road of state capitalism ("the Left" Tranmael, of course, speaks of "state socialism") as a means of winning over the majority of social-democracy, into a "free socialist social order." The supporters of this theory of exceptionalism for Scandinavian countries refer to the well-known article of Friedrich Adler, in which he tries to save and defend the "democratic" road, if only in "certain countries." Incidentally, Friedrich Adler writes the following in his letter to Kautsky (see "Kampf," February 1933):

"For unity between the social-democrats and the bolsheviks there exists two viewpoints, representing the minimum, in the political sphere, without which any kind of agreement is unthinkable. And, even then, there remain still a multitude of difficulties, problems of principle, tactics and of an organisational character but these two viewpoints are, first and foremost, the conditions that:

1. The Bolsheviks should recognise that the democratic road to socialism is not beyond the bounds of possibility for at least some countries (for example, *Scandinavia*).

2. The socialists must recognise that it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Soviet Union, even without returning to private capitalism, will be able to get out of its present position and finally arrive at socialism."

We shall not occupy ourselves here with a refutation of the subtle attacks made by Friedrich Adler upon the U.S.S.R. Let us see how the situation actually stands with regard to the democratic road to socialism in Scandinavia. We have already shown the rôle of the "left" Norwegian Labour Party in introducing not socialism but measures of capitalist reaction, of "fascisation" and of placing the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class. But, by way of illustration, let us take the Swedish section of the Second International, which holds the government of the country in its hands. Let us see how Swedish social-democracy works "on behalf of" socialism. Even before the formation of the social-democratic government in Sweden, thanks to the voice of the social-democratic fraction of the Riksdag, an assignment went through for the Kreuger firm, which was bankrupt, to the extent of 375 million crowns from the Treasury. Furthermore, the social-democratic government mobilised an armed police against the strikers—fishermen — in Göteberg. Maria Reeze, who took part in the anti-fascist struggle in Germany, was deported from Sweden by the same social-democratic government. In connection with the fascist campaigns of the so-called "Right front" of Northern Sweden, the authorities prohibited any kind of counter-demonstrations, and reduced the cost of travelling on state railways for those who took part in the fascist campaign. By order of Hitler, the Swedish social-democratic government staged a trial against the "Ni dag," a Communist newspaper, because of its attack upon Göering. The editor who published indisputable information about Göering, especially in connection with the burning of the Reichstag, was thrown behind prison bars. The government organ, "Ni tig," directly urged Göering to make a diplomatic affair out of the case, in order to make corresponding steps on the part of the social-democratic government easier. Certain quotations from social-democratic literature and its press in Sweden quite clearly indicate what the social-democratic leaders understand the "democratic road to socialism" to mean. The general secretary of the Swedish social-democratic party, Richard Lindstrom, in his book entitled "Socialist Routine of Life" (p. 41) praises Noske, the hangman of the German workers, as follows:

"Noske used troops of a capitalist outlook to restore order. What else was there left for him to do? The workers did not advance in organised defence detachments, although special invitations were made for the workers to join these detachments. If, in the given case, a strong line was drawn between "bourgeois" and "proletarian," it could lead to a mighty risk. The fact that, for some time, still it has been possible to fend off the worst, is something for which we have to thank Noske for, first and foremost. He had the courage to put the interests of the common weal higher than the need for taking catchword slogans into consideration."

The Swedish social-democratic press also is becoming more frank on the ideological front against the class struggle of the proletariat. For instance, the Swedish "Social-Demokraten" writes:

"Is it not time that we put into the confused term "Class struggle" a more rational content and justified the conception of the class struggle of real social-democracy as a measure."

What does this revision of the conception of the class struggle mean, if not actually the class struggle *against the workers,* as shown, for example by what Richard Lindstrom said in connection with the strike of the Swedish sailors. Lindstrom writes as follows in "Social-Demokrateh":

The State is not such a weak and compromising institution as to be unable to achieve subordination to the interests of society. In Sweden we may also be driven to adopt, in the coming stage of development, compulsory interference of the state in labour conflicts."

The social-democratic government in Sweden has introduced a new tax on margarine and other mass taxes, and has also introduced a bill concerning forced labour camps after the style of those in Fascist Germany. Assignations for the building of the fleet have also been increased. The state police have been converted into an army of civil war against the working class, armed according to the latest word in the technique of civil war. The social-democratic government has categorically rejected the demand of half-a-million Swedish proletarians for amnesty on behalf of political prisoners, who were thrown into gaol for fighting against the strikebreakers.

Throughout the Scandinavian countries new measures will be taken to limit civil democratic rights. In Sweden the social-democratic government has already passed a law for "house searches to discover weapons." It is characteristic that the well-known supporter of Scandinavian "liberalism," the "Dagens Nigeter," in Stockholm, has already taken up the attitude that freedom of the press—one of the so-called "permanent

democratic liberties''—should be abolished for the newspapers and other printed publications of the revolutionary working-class movement. Norway is rapidly introducing the new line of converting capitalist dictatorship in the form of so-called *democracy,* into capitalist dictatorship in the form of *fascism.*

This is the ''democratic road to socialism'' in Scandinavia, of which the theoreticians of Norwegian social-fascism like Friedrich Adler, the general secretary of the Second International, talk so much.

All this goes to prove, despite all the pseudo-Marxist assertions of Begheim, Tranmael, Fenner Brockway and Co., that the working class to-day must make its choice, not between democracy and dictatorship *in general,* but between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, which is becoming more and more fascist, and revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat on the other hand. It is absolute swindling when the ''Marxists'' of the Norwegian Labour Party talk about capitalist states ''being built on a democratic basis.'' It is direct duplicity to talk about ''the rule of the people'' in capitalist society. Only proletarian dictatorship can provide democracy for the toilers.

3.—THE CAMPAIGN OF THE NORWEGIAN LABOUR PARTY IN CONNECTION WITH THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAMME.

At present the Norwegian Labour Party is carrying out a big demagogic campaign on the basis of the American Roosevelt programme. Almost every day an article appears in the central organ of the party on the ''new'' line in America, the American ''revolution,'' the ''progress of state capitalism and planned economy,'' about the ''new road to socialism,'' which it has been discovered by President Roosevelt in the land of the imperialist dollar. Let us listen, for example, to what the ''theoretician'' of the Norwegian Labour Party, Colbernsen, has to say about the political meaning of Roosevelt's policy in America :

> ''The United States have taken the road of a positive policy in conditions of crisis, which the labour movement has been insisting upon for several years, and which was pursued even earlier on a broad scale in Sweden and Denmark, and for the last eighteen months has been the 'leitmotif' of the struggle of the Norwegian Labour Party and the trade union centre against the crisis . . . The communist phrase, which is so often abused, concerning the 'stabilisation of capitalist society,' fits Roosevelt's programme, but on a new, a higher level, which prepares the conditions for the future labour government in America . . . Our old formulations about state capitalism, state regulation and planned economy have suddenly become a real policy in the biggest industrial country in the world . . . In a very short time the demands for workers' control and socialisation will be raised in a mighty voice against the new American symphony.'' (''Arbeiterbladet,'' July 25th, 1933.)

Another author makes the proposal in the press of the Norwegian Labour Party that the latter should carry out the whole of its election campaign in the autumn of this year during the Störting elections under the slogan of the Roosevelt programme.

''What is the connection between the plan for restoration put forward by President Roosevelt, and the programme of the Labour Party? Both President Roosevelt's line, and our line, from the economic point of view, lead to one and the same result : to deprive private capital and private undertakings of the possibility of drawing profits out of the toiling people . . . We can accept the American line *without any retreat* from our programme.''

From all that has been said it can be seen that the Norwegian Labour Party has taken America as its example, as it did several years ago. The road proposed by Roosevelt is put in opposition to the October revolutionary road to socialism. The leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party want to prove, on the basis of the American example, that their new programme of principle, which contains the bankrupt thesis of international social-fascism about ''state capitalism,'' as the transitional stage to socialism, is being, as it were, confirmed in practice. Nevertheless, of late, Tranmael, who can always manoeuvre ''to the left,'' has had some ''doubts.'' For even the bourgeois press itself is partially forced to admit that real wages are continually dropping. Even the bourgeois press informs us of the colossal volume of forced labour in America. Moreover, the American workers have given a direct and extremely expressive reply to the campaign in favour of the so-called ''socialism'' of Roosevelt. There is a huge wave of strikes in the United States. The Norwegian workers see a clear example of what ''industrial peace'' actually means on the basis of the new Roosevelt legislation. In Pennsylvania the workers are leading a strike and are shot down by the owners. There is increased rationalisation, cuts in actual wages, forced labour, liquidation of the right to strike, murder of workers during economic battles; this is what the ''new socialism'' of President Roosevelt looks like ! We cannot be astonished at the fact that Tranmael and Co. consider it expedient

to support this "socialism" of the dollar imperialists—with certain "reservations."

The campaign around the Roosevelt programme is another proof of the development of the Norwegian Labour Party in the direction of social-fascism. First and foremost, this campaign shows quite clearly that the party is more and more pursuing the policy of the Second International, and of the parties which, formally, are members of the latter. This campaign in favour of Roosevelt and at the same time against the Soviet Union, against the land of true socialist building, is being pursued by the Norwegian Labour Party at a moment when at the Congress of the Amsterdam International in Brussels, Citrine, Jouhaux and other famous men in the ranks of the international organisations of class treachery, are hailing Roosevelt as the prophet of socialism.

In just the same way, on many other of the most important questions, we find, on the one hand, social-fascist development, and, on the other hand, the launching of subtle "left" manoeuvres on the part of the Norwegian social-democrats. The calumny of the Norwegian Labour Party of late against the Soviet Union in connection with the Berlin trade agreement, the strike of the Finnish sailors (although actually only the Soviet Union showed any solidarity with this struggle), the new cunning slogan of the Amsterdam international for the boycott of German goods, etc., is particularly characteristic. The views of Kautsky on the Soviet Union are being more widely spready throughout the party and trade union press of the Norwegian reformists. At the same time the Party Congress of the Norwegian Labour Party has declared itself officially and formally "against capitalist intervention," and the party, from time to time, adopts this sort of new "left" manoeuvring, to maintain its influence among the masses.

The Norwegian Communist Party is faced with the task of showing clearly to the great masses of the workers and all toilers the process of social-fascist development of the Norwegian Labour Party, which is going forward at a rapid rate; the Norwegian Communist Party is faced with the task of *getting a united front of the working class against the capitalist offensive and fascism in a determined struggle against Norwegian social-democracy and particularly against its "left" wing.* Every tendency to underestimate social-fascism in Norway, to consider the "left" manoeuvres of the pseudo-Marxists as tantamount to a new honest political orientation, every thought that it is possible in Norway to defeat reaction and fascism, without directing the main blow against social-democracy, for the purpose of isolating it from the masses, should be met with the most determined resistance. The leaders of this party are playing the same treacherous game as the "left" leaders of Austrian and German social-democracy. Therefore, there is no other way of launching the mass movement, winning over the masses, and creating the factors necessary for a successful proletarian revolution in Norway, than that of an irreconcilable and most determined struggle against the Norwegian Labour Party, the bearer of the policy of the Second International into Norway.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

By Kon-Sin.

I.—THE GROWTH OF THE SOVIET MOVEMENT AND THE LEADING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Following the theses and resolutions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., our Party in China has secured great successes and victories. Under its leadership the heroic Red Army defeated the fifth campaign of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, smashing and partly destroying forty Kuomintang divisions, uniting various Soviet territories, winning new districts, such as Szechwan and the borders of Fukiang and Kiangsi, and considerably strengthening the Red Army. These brilliant victories of our Party and the Red Army are, at the same time, a tremendous victory for the masses of the people in the struggle against imperialism and the Kuomintang. The significance of these events for the Chinese Revolution is still greater if we consider that they took place at the moment of the occupation of Jehol and Northern China by Japanese imperialism, and the shameful surrender of these territories to the Japanese by the Kuomintang.

THE MILITARY SUCCESSES OF THE RED ARMY.

At the beginning of the fifth campaign, Chiang-Kai-Shek mobilised over 800,000 of his best soldiers for the struggle against us. At first, troops were thrown against the Red Army in Uchang. The fourth Red Army and the Red Army of Ho-Lun, in view of the superior force of the enemy, partly retreated from the territory of the old Soviet districts and partly scattered over this territory, together with the armed guerilla bands. Chang-Kai-Shek boasted of his victory, promising to liquidate all the Soviet districts within three months. Under the influence of the temporary retreat, some comrades in the ranks of our Party succumbed to pessimistic feelings. At present, it is already well-known that the regular troops of the fourth army, during their retreat, destroyed the Kuomintang armies in Hupeh, Shensi and Szechwan, and trebled their numbers. In Szechwan, the fourth army formed a new Soviet district of fourteen counties with its centre in Tunkiang.

On the old Soviet territory in Hupeh-Hinan-Anhwei, in connection with the departure of the fourth army, a very difficult situation arose. But it is already known that the greater part of this territory is once again in our hands, and our military forces there have been formed into two new corps—the 25th and 28th—which defeated strong Kuomintang troops in Hupeh and Hinan and occupied a number of strategic points. The town of Sintsi, the centre of the old Soviet territory, is again in our hands. Not long ago the Kuomintang was boasting that this territory had been completely cleared of the Reds, but now it is howling "the Red Army is raging in this district. The people have all become bandits." Under this slogan the Kuomintang has again concentrated on this territory over ten divisions and developed the new offensive against the Soviet districts in Hupeh-Hinan-Anhwei.

The Red Army of Ho-Lun retreated from Hunhu, but according to information received a new big Soviet territory has been formed in Western Hupeh and Southern Hunan. The whole of China is astonished at the endurance and elusiveness of the iron Ho-Lun and his army.

We will now pass on to the Red Army in the Central Soviet district. In 1932 this army several times defeated the Kuomintang troops and always took the offensive. According to the information of our War Commissariat, the following trophies were taken: 91,280 rifles, 34 big guns, 155 mortars and 1,090 machine guns, 13 military radio stations and 6 airplanes. Among the prisoners were 3 divisional commanders, 11 brigadiers and 8 commanders of regiments. Those killed in action include 3 divisional commanders, 8 brigadiers, 10 regimental commanders and many of the officers and N.C.O.s.

In January, 1933, the Red Army defeated the 90th, 27th, 14th and 5th Kuomintang divisions on the Central Soviet territory. These divisions, which were styled by the Kuomintang re-organisationists the "iron army," were utterly destroyed by us. General Chow-Sy-da was taken prisoner. Many secret documents of the re-organisationists fell into our hands. During the forty-five days from January 1st to February 15th, 1933, we obtained the following trophies: 12,369 rifles, 5 big guns, 2 mortars, 1 military radio station. We took prisoners two brigadiers and one regimental commander and killed one brigadier and two regimental commanders. Three regiments and one battalion mutinied and came over to our side.

After February 27th we defeated the 52nd, 59th, 11th, 10th and 9th Kuomintang divisions, the first three being utterly destroyed. We took 20,000 rifles. The commanders of divisions Li Min and Chen Tse-be were taken prisoners and

the chief in command of the division, Ko Betsen, a deserter from the Red Army, were killed. The Kuomintang army completely deserted the front, and thus ended the fifth campaign of the Kuomintang against the Soviet territory. As the result of the victory of the Red Army, the Central Soviet territory was enlarged and united with the Soviet territory in the north-east of Kiangsi. Our military forces became stronger. We formed the 11th Red Army and several model divisions.

During the fifth Kuomintang campaign in Szechwan, new Red Armies were formed in the Soviet district of Hupeh-Hinan-Anhwei, in the central Soviet district and in the Soviet district to the north-west of Kiangsi. The armed revolutionary forces, and the regular Red Army throughout China increased tremendously in size. The total number of fighters in the regular Red Army, at the end of the liquidation of the fifth campaign, was over 300,000.

In rolling back five campaigns of the Kuomintang following one after the other, the Red Army increased its fighting powers and became considerably stronger politicaly. There was a noticeable increase in the leading rôle of the Party in the Red Army. The new cadres of the commanding staff who had graduated from the central military school (founded in 1931, from which come 1,000 in each graduation) were politically prepared for their responsible work. Great successes may be noted in the sphere of the political work among the Red Army men. The overwhelming majority of them can read and understand the political articles of Comrade Chu-de and others. All these are undoubtedly great successes in the strengthening of the Red Army.

II.

The authority of the central government of Soviet China is growing day by day. The Second All-Chinese Congress of Soviets is now being prepared. A cleansing has been carried out in all the Soviet institutions, and the counter-revolutionary elements have been expelled from the apparatus. The workers and peasants are being drawn into the work of the Soviets. In the Soviet apparatus there are on the average 30 per cent. of workers. Sympathy to the Soviet power is extremely great. In the central district, the workers voluntarily buy bonds in the loans which the government issues and undertake to distribute these bonds. Many workers give up their bonds, returning them to the government, saying: "We do not want to consider our government to be a debtor to us." During the fifth campaign, thousands and tens of thousands of toilers marched under the leadership of the party into the Red Army, into the Red Guard, into laundry detachments, into sanitary detachments, into the intelligence service and the transport units. A certain 60-year-old woman in the Hupei-Hinan-Anhwei district said to her son: "I will plant pumpkin and you go to the Red Army, otherwise the Kuomintang will come and take the land away from us."

The friendly relations between the Red Army and the population have become even more close than they were before. In the central Soviet territory women frequently accompany their men in the recruiting campaigns of the Red Army (for instance in the district of Shanghai), singing the song "Everybody into the Red Army." Families compete with each other—making shoes for the Red Army. Such competitions have become an every-day affair. In the rear, the masses are giving every possible assistance to the families of the Red Armymen, tilling their farms, etc. If any Red Army man deserts from the front and returns home, those working for him demand compensation for their labour and he is forced to return to the front.

These facts show how actively the great masses participate in the defence of the Soviet power. Just because of this active participation have we won such a big victory over the Kuomintang, during the fifth crusade of the imperialists and Kuomintangists.

The masses themselves take an active part in the struggle against the counter-revolution. They say that this is the real revolution.

After the twelfth plenum of the Communist International the mistakes and shortcomings of the land law and labour protection law were remedied. Formerly, the land in the Soviet territories was re-divided several times a year. This killed the peasants' interest in the cultivation and manuring of the land. Now these re-divisions have been ended. Each peasant has been given a definite piece of land which is no longer to be sub-divided. As regards the labour protection law, it is no longer enforced as mechanically as before. A definite change has been wrought also in the field of economic policy. For this reason, the sowing campaign of this spring passed rather successfully. The party, the government and the trade unions have already mobilised the masses for participation in this campaign. Production columns, shock brigades, sowing columns, were organised and the practice of revolutionary competition was introduced. There are 243 production co-operatives in the central Soviet territory, and 60 in the Huan-Kiangsi district. Of special importance is the change of methods employed to find means for the maintenance of the Red Army. Formerly,

the Red Army had to supply itself at the front, by confiscating the property of the landlords and gentry, and if this was insufficient, the interests of the middle peasants sometimes suffered. Now it is the government which bears all the expenses. In 1932 the government began to collect land and trade taxes, thus considerably facilitating the struggle against the fifth expedition of the Kuomintang.

There can be no doubt that the perfection of the Soviet machinery resulted in a change in economic policy, and aroused much enthusiasm, and a readiness to fight for the Soviet power among the masses. Only in this way have we succeeded in defeating the Kuomintang.

The working class of the Soviet territory, led by the red trade unions, played an important part in this victory. It is well-known that in the days of Li-Li Hsiang there were no trade union organisations on the territory of the Soviets. At the present time there are already 2,200,000 organised trade union members in Soviet China. There are unions of farm workers, unions in the different industries, unions of coolies, unions of commercial employees and other unions in all the Soviet regions. The workers readily volunteer for the Red Army. In July, August and September, 1932, the trade unions of Kiantsi mobilised 3,000 workers into the Red Army. By May 1st of this years another 10,000 workers joined the army.

The workers raised the productivity of labour in the war factories and thereby helped the Red Army fighting on the front. Thus the ammunition plant in the north-east of Tiangsi used to produce only 3,000 cartridges; during the fifth campaign it turned out 5,000 cartridges daily. In western Fukien the paper manufacturers sabotaged the order to increase production and export paper into the Kuomintang territory on the basis of commodity exchange. The workers themselves took up the struggle for an improvement of output and its exploitation. This resulted in an unusual business boom in the given Soviet regions. Another example: the capitalists tried to refuse to buy bonds issued by the Soviet government. The workers forced the capitalists to buy them. During the fifth expedition the trade unions attracted the peasants, the groups of the peasant poor, the anti-Imperialist League, the International Red Aid and others to active participation in the fight against the Kuomintang. They organised the population to help cultivate the land of the Red Army men. They agitated among the masses for joining the Red Army. We shall discuss the work of the red trade unions in Soviet China in greater detail elsewhere. The facts mentioned above should suffice, however, to show what rôle the workers played at the time of the expedition. These facts show what successes the trade union movement in Soviet China has achieved.

The fifth expedition served as an impulse to the masses of workers and peasants throughout China to resume the struggle against imperialism and the Kuomintang.

Chiang kai-Shek, who surrendered Manchuria, Jehol and North China to Japan, has been forced to discard the lying slogan of a "stubborn defensive fight against Japan" and openly declared that anyone daring to speak of the fight against Japan will meet with a severe penalty. "Our entire struggle now is directed against the Communists," he said. The Kuomintang has again mobilised a million soldiers to fight against Soviet China and has convoked in Nanchang a military conference to discuss the question of a sixth military expedition against the Red Army. Together with the many Kuomintang militarists, the military experts of the imperialist powers took part in this conference which lasted ten days. The decisions of the conference, according to our information, are as follow:

1. To ask the imperialists to give the utmost assistance in money, credits, arms and ammunition, tanks and military specialists.

2. To use the cotton and wheat loans granted by the United States in order to attract the Kwantung, Fukiang and Hunan militarists to a united front with Chiang kai-Shek against Soviet China and to compensate them.

3. To re-organise the forces at present at the front, re-distribute the sections of the front among the generals, and organise a militia and village constabulary on a large scale.

4. Strengthen the economic blockade of Soviet China—utilising all the counter-revolutionary elements to disorganise the economic life of Soviet China.

5. Strengthen the demagogic propaganda under the slogan of "utilisation in the struggle against the reds of 70 per cent. of political and 30 per cent. of the military measures," conducting, together with the renegades of the revolution, a slanderous campaign against the Red commanders under the slogan of "with the enemy against the enemy."

6. A six-month plan was prepared: two months for a trial offensive, two months for a general offensive, two months for destructive offensive. The slogan of the offensive is: "Quick, determined and effective work."

We do not doubt that we shall repulse the newly-planned sixth expedition. But this will require the concentration of all forces. The counter-revolutionary plans worked out in Nanchang will not be liquidated of themselves. The Kuomintang forces are much more formid-

able than they were in the past, and we are faced with various difficulties. To overcome these difficulties and organise resistance, the C.P. of China mobilises the Red Army men and the toiling masses of Soviet China for the defence of the Soviet territories and for a counter-offensive. It also leads the anti-imperialist movement and the movement of the many millions against the famine in the flooded districts. Under the leadership of the party, the movement of the city workers is developing, as well as of the soldiers in the Kuomintang forces. The battles on the white territories will be combined by our party with a counter-attack of the Red Army men and toilers of Soviet China against the sixth expedition of the imperialists and Kuomintang.

I.—ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORK OF THE CHINESE C.P.

After the twelfth Plenum of the Comintern, the party energetically undertook to rectify the defects in its work in the Kuomintang territories, particularly in the anti-imperialist and trade union field. The policy of the united front from below was resorted to. To realise the independence and unity of China, the Party organised the masses throughout the country under the slogan of a national revolutionary war against the Japanese and other imperialists. After the capture of Jehol by Japan, the Soviet government and the Revolutionary Military Soviet addressed an appeal to the population which aroused much enthusiasm, a determination to fight, among the toiling masses of Kuomintang China. The Party gained considerable political influence among the masses of the territories governed by the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang soldiers sent against the Red Army refused to fight and demanded to be sent to the anti-Japanese front. For this reason Chiang kai-Shek, at the beginning of April, court-martialled the soldiers and officers displaying such sentiments, and this further helped to expose the true nature of the Kuomintang before the masses. The sentiments among the masses of Kuomintang China may be formulated as follow:

"Chiang kai-Shek declares that it is impossible to move to the north now, because the Reds are destroying the rear. And now that the Reds are advancing entirely fair conditions for the discontinuation of the offensive against the Soviet regions and granting of democratic liberties to the toilers on the territories of the Kuomintang, and are agreed to form a united front with any unit which adopts these conditions in order to organise a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism, he is opposed to it."

These sentiments mark an important success in the united front policy applied by us.

During the war in Jehol the party work in Peiping was strengthened. The Peiping party organisation mobilised the party members and the supporters of the anti-imperialist movement for a struggle and agitation work among the soldiers at the front. By determined work we succeeded in penetrating the different detachments of the militarists. We succeeded in organising the population of the war zone under the banner of an anti-Japanese League. In this way we organised the railwaymen of the Peiping Liaoling and Peiping Su-Yuan lines. We succeeded in creating an organisation of the anti-Japanese League among the soldiers of one of the columns of the volunteer detachments. Here we attracted 700 members. In Inner Mongolia we created a Mongol-Chinese anti-Japanese League. According to the report of the Hupeh Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party a number of big battles against Japanese imperialism were waged by certain units. Among these troops there are several thousand supporters of the anti-Japanese League. Nevertheless, our political influence is still weak. The connection with our Peiping party organisation is frequently interrupted.

We succeeded in developing an anti-Japanese and anti-Kuomintang struggle among the railwaymen of the Peiping-Su-Yuan line and among the masses and soldiers. In Kalgan we organised two mass meetings attended by 30,000 people each. The Kuomintang headquarters were smashed up and sevreal members of the Kuomintang organisation were arrested. A mass meeting of all the workers was held on the Peiping-Su-Yuan railway and a Red trade union was organised, the Kuomintang union was disbanded and the leaders of the yellow trade union organisation arrested and turned over to a people's court. The railroad workers organised a detachment of anti-Japanese volunteers, consisting of several hundred people. Similar work was carried on in Kalgan, among the workers of the power-station and the rickshas. This anti-imperialist movement is directed against the Japanese in North China and causes the railwaymen of the Peiping-Liaoling, the Tintsin workers and Hopei miners to strengthen the strike struggle and take up a resolute fight against the yellow unions.

In Manchuria a serious improvement in the party work developed after the reorganisation of the provincial committee.

1. When the soldiers of Manchukuo were organised, certain successes were achieved in the struggle against Manchukuo and Japan. Thus nine party cells, three cells of the anti-Japanese League and four tenants' associations were organised among the Manchurian forces in one

of the big cities of Manchuria. Anti-Japanese League cells have been organised among the police. Party cells exist among the Manchurian soldiers in many other areas as well.

We organised a revolutionary uprising in Shango. All the reactionary officers were killed, 600 soldiers joining the partisans. At Ochek, 40 Manchurian soldiers mutinied, as a result we received 40 rifles and two machine guns. In Sanchen battles have occurred no less than three times in the detachment of Kuan Chen-hu against maltreatment by officers, and for a general improvement of the situation of the soldiers.

2. There are already 2,000 men in the partisan detachments in East Manchuria. The partisan detachments of Banchi and Heilun call themselves the 32nd Red Army. Recently they won a number of victories and increased their numbers. We are also extending our influence among the volunteer troops in various other districts.

3. A definite break has occurred also in the struggle of the workers against Japanese imperialism. A tramwaymen's strike directed against the Japanese has ended in complete victory.

Our influence among the masses in Shanghai grows daily. Under our influence the mass anti-Japanese organisations have put forward the following slogans: arming of the population, the national revolutionary struggle against Japanese imperialism, 80 per cent. of the Kuomintang forces to be sent to North China for the fight against Japan, the cessation of the advance on Soviet China, the re-capture of the lost territories, release of all political prisoners, etc. These slogans meet with a wide response among the masses. Even the reactionary press publishes these slogans, to mislead the masses. In Shanghai the "Society to Save the Fatherland and Fight Against the Foreign Invasion" already has over 10,000 members.

The working class elements of this society constantly grow in number. Branches of the organisation have been set up in many factories. The same may be said of the anti-Japanese League. During the victorious strike in one of the Japanese textile mills in East Shanghai, 700 workers joined the anti-Japanese League. In a Japanese mill in the western part of Shanghai, branches of the Society to Save the Fatherland, the anti-Japanese League, voluntary detachments and women's anti-Japanese societies, with a total membership of 1,200, have been created. The most active members of the society are mostly workers. They are also in control of the anti-Japanese boycott movement. Among the port workers there are 250 boycott groups. There are 100 members of boycott groups among the workers employed as lightermen. Branches of the organisation, aggregating 300 members, have been established in seven ocean-going steamers as well.

2.—ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION WORK IN KUOMINTANG CHINA.

After the Shanghai war, after January 28, 1932, a break occurred in the revolutionary trade union movement, and we are already able to record a number of victories. Numerous successful strikes have occurred since the twelfth plenum of the E.C.C.I. Here are some facts:

1. Increasing leadership in the strike movement.

During the Shanghai war an anti-Japanese strike broke out in fifteen factories with 40,000 textile workers. The strike lasted over 100 days and laid the foundation for a textile workers' union. As a result of the strike eighteen factory cells were organised. Our leading position in the Japanese textile mills, which we lost after the sixth congress of the party, was restored. In addition, eleven important strikes were conducted in Shanghai (in Japanese spinning mills, print shops, in the telephone and telegraph exchanges, in the street car and bus companies, at the Yesong docks, at the Chansen machine building plant, at the Hofun machine building plant, at the tobacco factory, etc.). A strike of the Tanchang miners took place at Hupei. The cotton-spinning mill owned by Yuda was tied up at Tientsin. At Tsiantau a strike was conducted in the three biggest Japanese spinning mills. In Shantun we organised a strike embracing 20,000 miners. In Manchuria strikes were conducted in spinning mills and in the Anglo-American Tobacco Co. of Mukden. We also took part in the strike of the workers and employees of the autobus company of Fukien. These strikes are a credit to our party, although we do not take the attitude of Li Li Sian when each strike, in any factory in which there was a single Communist, was reported to have been organised by us. The strikes mentioned above were really organised by us and conducted under the leadership of our party or Red trade unions.

Our method of struggle also sharply differs from those employed in the days of Li Li Sian. The preparations are conducted on the basis of economic demands affecting the workers at the given moment, and by means of the united front from below. The strike committee consists not of individual commanders keeping aloof from the masses, as was the case in the days of the Li Li Sianites, but is composed of as many as 100 people. Demands are advanced, not in the manner of Li Li Sian, when they consisted of confused

political slogans based upon the principle "the more the better," but give due consideration to the real desires and demands of the masses. At the same time we did not follow in the wake of these demands, but led the struggle, advancing new slogans in the course of the strike and seeking to raise the movement to a higher level. As a result many of the strikes ended in victory. Thus, during the strike of the spinning workers of Shanghai we succeeded in securing a wage raise of eleven dollars a month. As a result of the struggle of the railroad workers in Shanghai for a New Year's allowance, many workers received premiums up to fifty dollars. One of the participants in the railroad workers' strike told one of our strike leaders:

"You are really good men. I have never seen so many silver dollars at the same time."

2. Red trade unions are still weak, but since the strike in the western district of Shanghai successes have been recorded in this field as well. To begin with, it is necessary to say that the Red trade unions of Shanghai, North China and Manchuria have begun to penetrate the most important and key industries. Thus our Red trade unions in Shanghai already have cells among the railwaymen, on the electric stations, docks, in the textile, spinning and weaving mills, at the telephone exchanges, in the metal plants, etc., while under Li Li Sian the revolutionary trade union movement was based upon artisans and commercial employees. We have restored our basis in the factories which we lost after the sixth congress of the party, and even in those factories which we lost as a result of Chiang Kai-Shek's counter-revolutionary coup of April 12, 1927. The membership of the Red trade unions in Kuomintang China has now been brought to over 10,000. Compared with the days of Li Li Sian the membership of the Red trade unions has grown five times. While in Shanghai, in the period of Li Li Sian, the Red trade unions only had 500 members, at the present time there are about 3,000 members, apart from the membership of the auxiliary organisations. It is also noteworthy that under Li Li Sian there were only isolated members in the factories, while at the present time we have several hundred members in one factory, with lower cells. We realise that this is still a very small figure, that our trade union work still has many defects and weaknesses. But the important thing is that we have secured a certain turning point in this field after years of marking time.

There are still other anti-Japanese organisations in which our influence is strong, such as the Anti-Imperialist League, the Society to Save the Fatherland and Defend it Against the Foreign Invasion, the Union of the Labour anti-Imperialist League, the voluntary detachments, the anti-Imperialist Sisterhood, the Society for the anti-Japanese Boycott, the Society of Mutual Aid, Brotherhood and Sisterhood. All of them together amount to 40,000 members. This figure is entirely insufficient, of course.

3. The beginning of the capture of the masses of the yellow trade unions and the work among the unemployed.

One of the yellow unions of the workers employed in the printshop of a yellow Shanghai newspaper has been completely captured by us. We have started the work of building up a red trade union opposition in the post and telegraph offices of Shanghai. The yellow trade unions on the Peiping-Chaugun railroad have been liquidated by us, the yellow trade union leaders arrested and committed to a people's trial. At a certain mass meeting on the Peiping-Laolian line we captured the leadership and advanced the workers' demands, the workers manifesting their agreement with us and organising a red trade union opposition. Still we are only in the initial stages of the work among the yellow trade unions. We have also started work among the unemployed of Shanghai. During the Shanghai war we set up nineteen party cells among the unemployed.

4. *The Party Committees in all the districts have taken up the trade union work with renewed energy.* The work is developing, beginning with Shanghai, the centre, and extending to all the provinces. I have already spoken of the work in North China. In Szechwan, Hupeh, etc., the party has taken up the organisational work and the leadership of the strike movement. We are organising party cells in the factories which represent a strong basis for trade union work. The work of the factory cells is far better and more independent than it was before. Thus the latest strikes in Shanghai in many factories were conducted under the leadership of the respective cells.

Despite the considerable successes in the trade union work and despite the fact that the resolutions of the twelfth E.C.C.I. plenum have been carried into effect, still the work is far from satisfactory. The red trade union movement is far behind the strike movement. Many strikes break out spontaneously, without our leadership. Similarly our work of preparing strikes is still far from satisfactory. The red trade unions are still very weak. We have not yet succeeded in penetrating many industries and cities, especially cities located near the Soviet regions. But we are on the way to the elimination of these shortcomings.

3.—ON THE WORK AMONG THE PEASANTS AND KUOMINTANG SOLDIERS.

Now a few words on the mobilisation of the masses of workers and peasants, as well as soldiers, for the overthrow of the Kuomintang power. Since the Shanghai war the party has organised over twenty peasant risings. The 26th Red Corps was created in Shansi and a new Soviet region was organised. A wide partisan movement has been developed by us in Manchuria. In many places, however, we were defeated owing to various mistakes committed by the party. Peasant organisations continue to appear in Hupei, Shantung, Kiangsi, Szechwan and other places and display a constant growth. Since the twelfth plenum of the E.C.C.I. the membership of peasant committees in Manchuria, Hupei, Kiangsu, Anhwei and Szechwan has grown by about 50,000. Peasant partisan detachment in Szechwan, Anhwei, South Hupei, Shantung and Kiangsu have lately been extremely active. This applies particularly to the partisans of Szechwan. The success of the advance of the fourth red army in Szechwan was greatly facilitated by the soldier mutinies in the Kuomintang units and by peasant uprisings. The occupation of the city of Nantsian in Szechwan was made possible by the mutinies in the two enemy regiments organised by us.

But we have not succeeded in creating peasant committees everywhere, besides the work has not been conducted sufficiently systematically. The same applies to the work among the soldiers. Thus we have not succeeded in penetrating the Chiang Kai-shek regulars. The party has organised the Yowmin tribes in Kiangsi and Chueichow for the fight against the imperialists and Kuomintang. But the work among the oppressed nationalities is conducted unsystematically and not everywhere. The calamities afflicting the recently flooded regions and the position of the Kuomintang in this connection have made our party increase its work of mobilising the workers, peasants, soldiers and oppressed nationalities for the struggle against the Kuomintang and the imperialists. The Central Committee is conscious of the seriousness of the situation and strengthens its work in this field.

If we have not yet carried out the tasks placed before the C.P. of China by the twelfth plenum of the E.C.C.I. in full, the tasks of "mobilising the masses under the slogan of the national revolutionary struggle, against the Japanese and other imperialists, for the independence of China," "the fight for the overthrow of the Kuomintang power," "a resolute policy of converting the Red trade unions into mass organisations to win over the workers belonging to the Kuomintang unions," and "to develop the guerilla movement," we are still able to state with confidence that we are on the way to their realisation and have already achieved notable successes.

THE DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

We shall now pass to one of the most important tasks raised before us by the Comintern, the task of organising a "fraternal alliance between the workers and peasants of China with the U.S.S.R." In the process of the campaign for the restoration of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and struggle against the Kuomintang slander and vilification of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway, we gained much sympathy among the masses. Here are some facts. "Friends of the Soviet Union" and "Friends of the Red Army" have been organised in all the Kuomintang regions. The Shanghai factories responded particularly to the slogan of a "fraternal alliance between the workers and peasants of China and the U.S.S.R." We had the following case: A worker of the Shanghai "Commercial Press" Printing Shop was four minutes late for work. Lateness being severely punished, he was afraid to enter the shop. When he read in the newspaper that the relations between the Kuomintang and the U.S.S.R. had been restored, he boldly went to work, declaring:

"To-day I am no longer afraid of the capitalists. The relations between China and the Soviet Union have been restored, and this is of tremendous importance to our working class."

In connection with the arrival of the Soviet Ambassador in Shanghai, a demonstration was organised by the Society for the Salvation of the Fatherland and Defence Against a Foreign Invasion, in which over 2,000 workers participated, under the slogan of a "fraternal union between the workers and peasants of China and the Soviet Union." The workers held a meeting and gave a banquet in honour of the Soviet Ambassador. They ordered a silver plate with the inscriptoin "A fraternal union between the workers and peasants of China and the U.S.S.R.," and sent it to the Ambassador. When the Ambassador accepted it, and expression his appreciation, the event was hailed by the workers with great joy. The Kuomintang took advantage of the negotiations for the sale of the C.E.R. to develop a gigantic demagogic campaign against the Soviet Union. To counteract this the local party organisations, following instructions from the Central Committee, carried out a wide educational cam-

paign among the masses, resolutely exposing the slanderous inventions of the Kuomintang.

4. THE POSITION WITHIN THE PARTY.

The fourth plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was marked by a complete victory of the general line of the Party. The right opportunists sustained a crushing defeat as well as the remains of the Li Li Sian group. The Bolshevik unity of the party is stronger than ever. The political level of the party members has also greatly risen. The authority of the party is now greater than ever. As a result of the struggle on two fronts the party has really entered upon a Bolshevik road. The political influence of the party among the masses has considerably grown. The central organ of the party in Peking, "The Red Banner," collected 500 dollars during a campaign for contributions organised in Peking. One of the readers of the "Red Banner' 'in Shansi quit his family and school, went to Shanghai and found the office of the "Red Banner," where he asked to be shown the road to struggle. Here is another instance from a Soviet district which shows how deeply the response of the toiling masses to our struggle for the party line has been. A certain peasant beat his wife, who, in defending herself, said: "You think we are still in the days of Li Li Sian? We are now living along the line of the Comintern."

The party organisation has greatly grown and the proletarian kernel in them has increased. Big cells have been established in many factories. Here are some figures indicating the growth of the party, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In the Soviet and white regions taken together, the membership of the party now exceeds 300,000. There are no longer any places in which there is only one Communist. Now they are to be found by the hundreds, even in the most outlying parts. Under Li Li Sian there were only 500 members in Shanghai, now the organisation has grown to over 4,000 members, 80 per cent. of whom are workers. The membership is growing in every region, and even in such a backward province as Szechwan the membership of the Communist Party has grown five times. In the Soviet regions the growth of the party has been very powerful. As regards quality, at the time of the fourth plenum only 7 per cent. of the membership were workers. At the present time over 20 per cent. of them are workers. The numerical growth of the party, the strengthening of its proletarian base consolidates the leading rôle of the proletariat, improves the relations between the party and the masses and guarantee a further development of the party along Bolshevist lines.

2. Great achievements may be noted alone in the creation of factory cells. Cells have been set up in many big plants. According to a report of the provincial committee of Kiangsu the growth of the party organisation in Shanghai between September, 1932, and the last enrolment campaign on January 28, 1933, was as follows:

(a) Ten party cells were created in heavy industry factories;

(b) Four cells were organised in municipal enterprises, fifteen in spinning mills and our old base was re-established in many factories;

(c) In many yellow unions a large number of party cells have been organised among the rank-and-file, over whom we have much influence;

(d) The party has created a base in points and factories which are of military and strategic importance;

(e) A new element in the Shanghai party organisation is the creation of several big cells of over 100 members in certain factories.

The activity of the factory cells and their rôle in the working class battles has considerably grown. The creation of such cells places the struggle for the development of the revolutionary trade union movement on a solid foundation. In the Soviet regions the bureaucratic methods of the work of the cells have been largely done away with. The activity of the party members has grown. Meetings of the cells take place regularly, the meetings discuss concrete and vital questions, such as an increase of the Red Army, work among the masses, club work, etc.

3. The leadership of the local party organisations has been strengthened. New cadres have been created both in the Soviet and the white regions, including leading cadres. The local party organisations in the Soviet regions consist largely of new young workers. Closer contact has been established between the leadership, the members and the masses. The mistake of formalism and regimentation has been corrected, and that is why the mobilisation of the masses against the fifth expedition of the Kuomintang was so successful. The party work in the white regions has also been strengthened. Since the twelfth plenum of the E.C.C.I. new achievements have been recorded in the work of all the provincial committees. The sense of personal responsibility has grown. The Central Committee is no longer asked to give its view on every petty question. The secretaries of the Shanghai district committee are all workers, still employed in the factories; the relations between the masses and the party and the leading rôle of the party among the masses have considerably improved, only because new cadres from among the workers have been drawn in; party organs for the active mem-

bers and newspapers for the masses are being published in nearly all the districts. There are considerable weaknesses and mistakes in the organisational field. Here are the most important of them:

1. The uneven growth of the party organisations. Many big cities have not yet succeeded in restoring their organisations. This applies particularly to cities in the vicinity of the Soviet districts, such as Wuchang, Nanchang, Suzsan, Canton, etc.

2. In many cities, owing to the weakness of the party work, we have not yet succeeded in establishing our base in the factories. Although the proletarian elements in our party have grown, the proportion of workers is still far from sufficient.

3. The cells are not always leading the struggle in their factories and their work has not yet established deep roots. The fluctuation in membership has not yet been eliminated. The connection between the cell and the masses in the factories is still insufficiently strong. Strict secrecy must be observed against the enemy, of course, but it must not injure the connections with the non-party workers.

4. The local party committees lead the cells and the party members abstractly without giving them concrete instructions. Self-criticism is frequently enforced in a way which does not help the comrades to become active. The training of cadres is not up to the mark.

5. Conspirative work is in a very unsatisfactory condition. Although much attention has been given to this question of late, the struggle against renegades and espionage is still neglected by many cells. The party must take up a fight against these defects with Bolshevist determination.

All of these defects are being gradually eliminated with Bolshevist vigour and perseverance. The Party mobilises its members in order to carry into effect the tasks outlined by the twelfth E.C.C.I. plenum in the field of organisation. The party has repeatedly pointed out that our work can be pushed ahead only under the condition of Bolshevist union and solidarity.

We are absolutely confident that under the leadership of the Comintern we shall fulfil all the tasks placed before us by the twelfth plenum of the E.C.C.I and secure a victory of the Soviet revolution throughout China.

REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS IN CUBA AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*

THE revolutionary events which took place in the middle of August in Cuba, and in which great masses of the Cuban toilers took part, resulting in the overthrow of dictator Machado, were not unexpected. The whole trend of the economic crisis, which undermined the national economy, reduced the position of the toiling masses of both town and village to breaking point, and sharpened all the class contradictions in the country, were the preparation for this.

Cuba, with its four million population, forms a colony—and, moreover, one of the most important—of American imperialism. It is extremely important, not only as an agrarian appendage of the United States, supplying the latter with raw materials, but also as a sphere of capital investment, a market for industrial goods, and a strategic military base which supplements the Panama Canal system. This explains the special "attention" devoted by the United States to Cuba, which has been increased during the events of the last few days, when the United States sent its warships to "defend American citizens."

Actually all the largest branches of economy in Cuba are subordinated to American capitalism. According to the statistics of the "New York Times" of February 5th, 1933, the sum total of American investments in Cuba amount to 1,750 million dollars, while the total foreign investments in Cuba amount to 1,900 million dollars. If we remember, moreover, that all American investments in South and Central America amount to a round figure of six billion dollars, it becomes clear that Cuba plays an enormously important rôle in the colonial system of the United States.

Having subjected Cuba to its own influence and converted it into its own colony (after the "war of emancipation" at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Spaniards were driven out of Cuba), the United States has done its utmost to ensure that Cuban economy should be completely subjected to the interests of American capital, and that it should be totally dependent upon the United States. Cuba, in fact, was converted into a typical one-culture country. Sugar is the chief

* This article was written before the recent miliatry uprising which led to the downfall of the Cespedes government and the formation of the provisional government which, according to the bourgeois press, is composed of "left-bourgeois elements."

article of production and export. Moreover, more than seventy per cent. of the total exported sugar goes to the United States. Different American companies have invested enormous capital in this branch of Cuban national economy (about 800 million dollars according to the information of the "Daily Worker" of July 26th, 1933). They are, at present, the owners of huge cane sugar plantations which cover about one-fifth of the whole area of Cuba, and of "ingenios de uzucar" (sugar-refining factories). It is almost the same with the tobacco plantations and factories and all other branches of agriculture and industry. American capital predominates, and is at one and and the same time the producer, the middleman and the exporter of Cuban raw materials, and the supplier of American industrial and other articles to the Cuban internal market. The only exception among these branches of industry is railroad transport, which, in the main, belongs to English capitalists. English capital investments in Cuba are comparatively small, especially in comparison with American investments. However, the United States has absolutely no intention of living peacefully side by side with English imperialism in Cuba, and does everything possible to oust it from its present position. To this end there has been an increase in the construction of arterial roads and in development of motor bus traffic between the towns. During last year a very important arterial road, valued at over 100 millon dollars has been opened. This road stretches from end to end of the island and can be used during wartime for the rapid movement of troops.

The world economic crisis, and especially the crisis which has broken out in the United States, very considerably affected the national economy of Cuba. This was so particularly because Cuba is a country engaged in monocultures, and dependent, as a colony, upon the United States. The curtailment in the consumption of sugar in the United States, England and other countries which import Cuban sugar, and, most important of all, the increased production of sugar in several other colonial and semi-colonial countries (Brazil, Haiti, San-Domingo, Java, etc.), has led to a considerable and progressive curtailment of the export of Cuban sugar. For instance, between January 1st and June 10th, 1933, the export of sugar in weight, as compared with that of the same period in 1932, fell by 29 per cent.* At the same time the price of sugar on the world market, which in 1925-26 had already fallen considerably, dropped again enormously during the crisis period. Whereas in 1923 the price of sugar (one English pound) reached 5.24 American cents, the price had fallen in 1929 to 2 cents, and still further in 1932 to 0.92 cents.† The reduction in exports led to the formation of big reserves of sugar. In April, 1930, there was a reserve of three million tons of sugar in Cuba. To reduce this reserve of sugar and raise the price of sugar even if only a little, the Machado government, in accordance with a decision of the international conference of sugar-producing countries (which took place in the beginning of 1931), decreed that the production of sugar be forcibly curtailed, i.e., that only a definite amount of sugar cane should be crushed. In this connection, a special presidential decree was published fixing the amount of sugar cane which could be crushed in each individual works. As a result of the decree the production of sugar dropped from 5,156 thousand tons in 1929 to two million in 1933.

The curtailment of the sugar export and especially the drop in prices could not fail to affect the foreign trade of Cuba. Moreover, the second most important branch of national economy in Cuba—the tobacco industry—also suffered considerably during the period of crisis (the export of manufactured tobacco and raw tobacco in 1929 reached 37.8 million dollars, and in 1932 was only 12.9 million dollars).‖ It is characteristic that with the comparatively small curtailment of the whole of export expressed in weight, the drop expressed in money has been extremely great (5.7 and 32.1 per cent. in 1932 as compared with 1931§). The total amount of export from Cuba in 1932 (80 million dollars) was less than the 1929 export by 50 per cent. and 10 per cent. less than the 1904 figure. As for imports, of which foodstuffs occupy a considerable place (i.e., articles of consumption of the masses), they have fallen lower than the 1899 figure, although the population of the island since then has increased by over 130 per cent.‡

The sharp fall in foreign trade is expressed first and foremost in the State budget, whose deficit in 1932-33 amounted approximately to 8 million dollars (i.e., 16 per cent. of the whole budget). The "measures" adopted by the Machado government for balancing the budget were directed in the main against the toiling masses (increasing the duty on imported articles of universal consumption, lowering the wages of government employees, etc.).

The native bourgeoisie and the landlords, as well as the American capitalists, are seeking for a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses of Cuba. The curtailment of the

* "Diario de la Marina," 14/vi/33.

† "Cuba Importadora e Industrial," June, 1933.
‖ "Cuba Importadora e Industrial," June, 1933.
§ "Cuba Importadora e Industrial," May, 1933.
‡ "Cuba Importadora e Industrial," February, 1933.

production of sugar has led to the closing down of several sugar refineries. Out of 183 factories working in 1925, only 133 were working in 1932, and the exploitation of these factories was considerably lessened. The curtailment of the production of sugar has brought about a curtailment in the sown area under sugar canes (in 1932-33 only 45 per cent. of the total area under sugar plantations was sown and worked up). This in turn led to a considerable increase in unemployment. At present there are about 500,000 unemployed in Cuba (according to information of the "New York Times" of February 6th, 1933); these are industrial workers and employees who are in receipt of no kind of benefits, since there is no social insurance in Cuba.

The position of those workers who still have work is hardly better than that of the unemployed. Wages are dropping in all branches of agriculture and industry, in some cases as much as 50-70 per cent.; the average wage of the textile factories is about 20 cents per day, tobacco workers 30-40 cents; in addition several branches of industry are working short time.

The position of the agricultural workers on the sugar plantations is particularly hard. The fact that the sown area has been reduced, as well as the production of sugar, has meant that the period during which the crop is gathered in has been reduced to 40-50 days a year. Thus the working days of tens of thousands of agricultural workers have been reduced. At the same time there has been a sharp cut in wages.

In 1930 an agricultural worker was paid 40 cents for cutting 100 "aroba"* of sugar cane, whereas in 1932 he was paid only from 15-20 cents. By working fourteen hours a day a worker can cut a maximum of 200 "arobas," but this is nothing but slave labour. It is for this reason that the "New York Times" of February 6th, 1933, states that the average daily wage of an agricultural labourer on the sugar plantations does not exceed 15-20 cents. Moreover, wages on these plantations actually do not exist. The worker is paid in coupons instead of money, and he can use these coupons only in the shops of the landlord or company for whom he works. There are the strongest survivals of semi-feudal and semi-slave exploitation not only on the plantations of the native landlords, but on those of the foreign companies; this exploitation is closely interwoven with capitalist exploitation.

One of the local workers of the Cuban Communist Party, in a letter to the Central Committee dated April 23rd, 1933, describes the position of the agricultural workers on the sugar plantations as follows:

> "On the Cespedes plantations the usual wage of an agricultural labourer does not exceed 25 cents for 10-12 hours work during the harvest.
>
> "The plantation owners and their administrators have the right to search all the living quarters in their district; they can refuse to allow into the district persons whom they consider undesirable; they have their own police . . ."

This is a sufficiently clear confirmation of the semi-bondslave relations which exist in Cuban agriculture.

The sharp reduction in wages, on the one hand, and the preposterous exploitation, on the other, has led to the agricultural workers having no desire to work on the sugar plantations during the harvest, and preferring to remain without work. This feeling is on such a mass scale that there was a shortage of labour power during the 1932 harvest on the plantations, and the government was compelled to adopt police measures and despatch agricultural workers to the plantations in convoys.

The domination of semi-feudal relations, the colonial dependence upon imperialism, and the monocultural development of Cuba has reduced the poor and middle peasant farms to a degree of impoverishment which is actually progressive pauperisation. This process was hastened on by the introduction of the "Chetburn plan" (in May, 1931) concerning the curtailment in the production of sugar. This limitation in sugar production took place at the expense of the independent peasantry and tenants, for the sugar refineries simply refused to accept the sugar cane brought them by the peasants for crushing, preferring to work up the cane from their own plantations and those of the landlords. The low prices offered by the middlemen and fixed by the American companies forced the peasantry to give up the sugar industry. Some of them left their lands, or those rented out to them, and went to the towns. Others went from plantation to estates in search of work, thus swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Another section of the peasants agreed to work on different kinds of food crops with the "help" of the landlords, thus still further increasing their indebtedness and their semi-feudal dependence upon the landlords.

The position of the employees of private trading and industrial undertakings, and particularly of the state employees, has considerably worsened as a result of the crisis. The reduction in employees' wages has been as much as 30-40 per cent. and higher. During the course of 1931 alone the wages of the state employees have been

* "aroba"—11.5 kilograms.

reduced three times, and part of their wages, moreover, were held up for from three to four months.

Finally, the economic crisis and government measures for balancing the budget, and especially the increase in taxation, have had their effect also upon the position of the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

* * *

The violent attack of the ruling classes and imperialists on the standard of living of the toiling masses has rapidly radicalised them. As regards the level of the revolutionary upsurge, Cuba occupies one of the first places among the countries of South and Central America. The workers' and peasants' movement assumes continually a more acute and militant character. The basic masses of the proletariat and toilers are being drawn into the revolutionary struggle. Even in 1930-31 the upsurge of the revolutionary movement had already begun. Side by side with economic demands, either at the beginning or in the course of the struggle political demands were also put forward, directed against government terror, against the "Chetburn plan," demanding Machado's resignation, the release of the men who had been arrested; demands of an anti-imperialist nature were put forward. The general strike of March 20th, 1930 (on international anti-unemployment day), in which 200,000 workers took part, the solidarity strike in support of the tramwaymen who were on strike in Havana, and against police terror during August, 1931, in which strike 60,000 workers took part; the three months' strike of the tobacco workers of Havana in the beginning of 1932, in which 15,000 workers took part, the wave of strikes on the sugar plantations and refineries in 1932 and 1933, in which thousands of workers took part, and when buildings and organisations were seized by the armed workers' guard (Nasabal), several strikes which have taken place in individual industrial enterprises and on the transport, which in the main belongs to foreign capitalists (Havana Electric railways, tramway depots, etc.), the mass revolutionary demonstrations of thousands of unemployed which have taken place during the last two years—all these revolutionary battles in which the Cuban proletariat have taken part, are indicative of the high tide of the growing revolutionary wave which has seized the basic masses of the Cuba toilers. On the whole the leadership of these strikes was in the hands of the Cuban Communist Party.

Side by side with the proletarian movement that of the employees and town petty-bourgeoisie has been growing. Under the guidance of the Cuban Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions, a strike recently took place among the clerks against wage-cuts. During the general strikes of recent years in Havana, the office employees have taken an active part.

The struggle of the urban petty-bourgeoisie expresses itself in a mass refusal to pay taxes, to pay the high tariffs for electricity, etc. But the most acute forms of struggle were in connection with the students; these were directed against Machado and in defence of the autonomy of the universities. Dozens of the student leaders have been killed or thrown into prison during these years by the agents of Machado. The petty-bourgeoisie was desperate and formed terrorist groups with the aim of killing the more prominent leaders and supporters of the Machado régime.

The Cuban Communist Party is not only taking an active part in the revolutionary battles of the toiling masses, but it is also their main leader and organiser. The Cuban Communist Party has grown and become steeled in these battles. From the moment of its foundation in 1925 it has had to work in conditions of the cruellest terror. Dozens of its leaders and best representatives of the Cuban proletariat have been brutally killed by the agents of Machado in Cuba, and have served as food for sharks. There have been cases of murder abroad, for example, the murder of Hulio Melia, the organiser of the Cuban Communist Party, which took place in Mexico. Hundreds of Communists have been systematically thrown into Machado's dungeons, but terror could not stop the work of the Communist Party. It continued its struggle at the head of the masses, on behalf of their demands and against the offensive of the landlords and capitalists, against the yoke of American imperialism, against the bloody dictatorship of Machado. The prestige of the party as the only revolutionary organisation and militant vanguard of the Cuban proletariat has grown each day. Its link with the masses has grown and strengthened. During the crisis period, during the period of revolutionary upsurge, the party has headed and organised the masses in the struggle; it has tightened its link with the masses; it has penetrated into several of the more important undertakings, into the main branches of industry. Over the heads of the reformist leaders it has lifted the masses up to the struggle for their own partial demands. Over the heads of the reformist leaders and against their will, the workers organised in the reformist trade unions have answered the call of the party, have taken part in general strikes, have solidarised in strikes and taken part in other revolutionary activities under the leadership of the Communist Party. During the last eighteen months, the Cuban Communist Party has begun to penetrate, moreover, into the heart of the Cuban proletariat, of the

masses of agricultural labourers. It was the Cuban Communist Party which organised the militant strike on the plantations, and in the "Nasabal" works; in this they were supported by the neighbouring peasantry. It was the Cuban Communist Party that organised several other strikes among the agricultural labourers. The Cuban Communist Party, of late, has begun the organisation of a revolutionary "trade union of agricultural workers on sugar and other plantations" for the first time. Already several dozen plantations and sugar refineries are being organised. Quite recently, also, the Cuban Communist Party has begun the organisation of a revolutionary league of poor and middle peasants and tenants. There are already several leagues of this kind. Finally, the Cuban Communist Party has begun work among the oppressed Negro masses, and put forward and popularised (still to only a small extent) the slogan of national self-determination even to separation; this slogan has been linked with several partial demands. This is of more importance since the national oppression of the Negroes, who represent almost one-third of the total population of Cuba, and even in some parts constitute a majority of the population (for example, in different parts of the Oriente province), is combined with the most preposterous, semi-slavelike exploitation, especially on the sugar plantations.

Side by side with the growth of the political influence of the Cuban Communist Party, there is an increase in the membership. During the last two years the Cuban Communist Party has increased its numerical composition by four or five times. The growth of the Young Communist League in Cuba has been even greater.

However, in spite of the very definite importance which must be attached to these successes, they are still not so great as they should be, taking into consideration all the possibilities which arise from the favourable objective situation. The party has still insufficiently penetrated into several big undertakings, and is very weak in certain of the main branches of industry (for example, among the tobacco workers); the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party do not conduct sufficient active work inside the reformist trade unions; up till now the work in the village has remained the weakest link in the work of the party; the work among the urban petty-bourgeoisie is also not strong.

The movement of the urban bourgeoisie and the peasant movement is only slightly connected with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and is, in the main, led by bourgeois-landlord groups which are opposed to Machado, and constitute the so-called "national opposition." The leaders of this opposition are certain big landlords in Cuba like Menocal, Mendietta and others. Their "struggle" against Machado is a struggle for power, for a bigger share in the exploitation of the toiling masses. It began soon after the election of Machado as president of Cuba (1925). However, American imperialism, with which the bourgeois-landlord opposition is closely connected —for its interests are closely connected with the interests of the American companies — was not interested in intensifying the struggle among the ruling classes of Cuba. Nevertheless, the persistent attempts on the part of American Ambassadors (Guggenheim, for example) to "reconcile" Machado with the opposition met with no success. The intensification of the economic crisis made the struggle inside the ruling classes of Cuba grow stronger and stronger.

In the struggle against Machado the opposition tried to make use of the growing dissatisfaction among the toiling masses of the town and villages, and the hatred they felt towards the terroristic régime of Machado. The attempts of the opposition were crowned with some success, especially among the peasants and the town petty-bourgeoisie (including the students), and partially among the more backward strata of the workers. Because the bourgeois-landlord oppositional organisation, the "National Alliance," which previously existed, was to a considerable degree discredited in the eyes of the masses, because of their constant agreements with Machado, a new organisation was formed (the A.B.C.) which widely adopted terrorist methods of struggle against Machado and his agents, as well as other organisations which were petty-bourgeois in social composition, but whose leaders were directly connected with the bourgeois-landlord opposition and led by it. The terroristic acts which occurred in the town and the peasant uprisings in the provinces under the guidance of trusted persons connected with the bourgeois-landlord opposition were an expression of the growing dissatisfaction of the town petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry; but although this was so, actually they were acts of provocation on the part of the bourgeois-landlord opposition, which aimed at creating the impression in Washington that the position of Machado was unstable and that it was necessary to put a substitute in his place. However, the movement of the peasants frequently went beyond the framework set it by the leaders of the bourgeois-landlord opposition. For instance, this was the case when the revolting peasants attacked the homestead of Menocal, one of the leaders of the opposition, and burned it down.

Fearing that it would be carried away by the whirlwind of revolution, and fearing the growth

f the influence of the Communist Party among he masses, the bourgeois-landlord opposition, vhen the movement was at its highest, concluded truce with Machado.

This was the state of affairs quite recently, efore the latest revolutionary events. With the articipation of Wells, the American Ambassador, egotiations took place concerning a truce between Machado and the opposition. The negotiations vere crowned with "success"; "peace" was con-luded. But neither Machado, nor American mperialism, which had always supported him, ould stop the revolutionary movement.

Unfortunately, for lack of information we are ot able to dwell in detail on the development f the latest events in August which preceded he flight of Machado. However, the whole rend of development of events leads one to the onviction that the mass movement of the toilers vhich rose especially high towards the end of uly and the first days of August, and which took he form of several partial strikes and later of the eneral strike in Havana—not to mention the orm of mass demonstrations which led to armed onflicts with the police—has been taking place o a considerable degree with the participation, nd under the guidance, of the Cuban Communist arty. *And although there is not the slightest oubts also that a rôle was certainly played in the adership of the movement by the leaders of the ew terrorist movement, A.B.C., and the bour-eois-landlord opposition,* nevertheless, the over-hrow of Machado (August 12th) was the result f the truly revolutionary fight put up by the great oiling masses, led, in the main, by the heroic ommunist Party of Cuba. Just as had happened n Chili in 1931 when Ibanez was overthrown, so ow in Cuba in August of this year, the over-hrow of Machado came about not as the result f the traditional "pronunciamento" or the usual golpe de estado" (coup d'etat), common to the ountries of South and Central America. Machado vas overthrown by the revolutionary pressure of he toiling masses. The movement was prepared or by all the preceding work of the Cuban Com-nunist Party, and was, in the main, headed by he Party.

The mass strikes which preceded Machado's verthrow, and in which political demands release of prisoners, the resignation of Machado, tc.) were put forward side by side with economic emands, the execution of police agents (in par-icular, Magrinia, one of the murderers of Com-ade Melia), the firing of the offices of the Heraldo de Cuba" (Machado's organ), the urbulent demonstrations on the streets of Havana and other towns, armed fighting with the police and the army's refusal to support Machado — all this is proof positive of the high tide of the revolutionary wave of the toiling masses. Their demand that the Communist Party be legalised shows, at the same time, the influence of the Communist Party on those of the masses taking part in the movement. However, the weakness of the Communist Party, especially the fact that it is organisationally weak, the fact that its links with the masses, and especially the rural masses, are still insufficient, has not allowed the Cuban Communist Party to date to fulfil the revolutionary task which confronts it, the Cuban proletariat and the toiling masses : the task of creating its own revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

To replace Dictator Machado, who has resigned, and recently flew from Cuba to one of the English islands, American imperialism has appointed its other agent, Cespedes; this candidature was agreed to by representatives of the bourgeois-landlord opposition parties. Cespedes is the late Cuban representative to Washington, who has occupied several posts in the Machado cabinet; he will on the whole continue the same policy as his "honourable" predecessor, the policy of true service to the interests of American imperialism, defence of the interests of the ruling classes in Cuba, and an offensive against the standard of living of the toiling masses. Like Machado, Cespedes, together with American imperialism and the Cuban ruling classes, will throw all the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the toiling masses, and at their expense lighten the position of the bourgeoisie and the landlords of Cuba, and guarantee profits to the American capitalists. He will no doubt be supported in all this, not only by the bourgeois-landlord opposition, but also by the new terrorist organisation, whose representatives are in his government, with whose agreement he was "elected" dictator.

The fact that the place of Machado is now occupied by another agent of American imperialism and the Cuban ruling classes does not mean that the position of the toilers will be improved in the slightest. It is all the same to the masses who forces them to starve : Machado or Cespedes. The toiling masses of Cuba will reply to further attacks on their standard of living and their political rights by still mightier battles. The revolutionary atmosphere in Cuba is becoming more and more electric.

Elements of the revolutionary crisis are to be found in the growth of the revolutionary upsurge, in the militant mass activities of the Cuban toilers. This situation should be made use of to the utmost by the Communist Party, in the interests of the working class and of the toilers of Cuba.

The task of the party, in the situation which has now been created anew is to *train* comprehensively the toiling masses both politically and organisationally for decisive revolutionary battles for the struggle for power, for the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

The Communist Party of Cuba must do everything to develop the economic struggle of the working class; it must not fail to recognise that this struggle in circumstances of a ripening revolutionary crisis should assume the character of preparing the working masses for decisive revolutionary battles. Therefore, side by side with the economic demands of the workers, more and more importance attaches to demands of a political character. The struggle for these demands is closely connected with the main slogans of the Communist Party, and will then make the struggle of the Cuban proletariat political and raise it to a higher stage.

In the process of preparing for decisive revolutionary battles, special importance, in the present situation in Cuba, is attached to the universal development of the struggle of the peasantry, the most important ally of the proletariat in its struggle against feudalism and imperialism. The task of the Communist Party is to arouse these sections of the toilers to the fight for their partial demands (abolition of indebtedness to usurers, annulling of old debts in connection with taxation and land-rent; refusal to pay land-rent and taxes, etc.), by organising simultaneously their struggle for political demands, and widely popularising the main slogans of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

In those districts where the peasant movement is already at a high level, where in actual fact the partisan movement is already well launched, the Communists should put forward the slogan of revolutionary seizure of the land of the landlords and foreign capitalists, as a direct slogan of action, and directly lead these activities on the part of the peasantry and organise defence of the confiscated lands. It goes without saying that, at the same time, the Communist Party should make no distinction between the landlords belonging to the Machado clique, and those of the Cespedes group.

Further, the task of the Communist Party is to penetrate into the army and the fleet, to arouse the soldiers and sailors to fight, and to link up their movement with that of the proletariat and the peasantry. By organising a struggle for their own economic and political demands, the Cuban Communist Party will at the same time be widely popularising among the soldiers and sailors all the main slogans of the Communist Party, especially that of fraternising with the fighting workers and peasants, etc. Among the army units situated in the districts where guerilla warfare is operating, the Communists must agitate that they refuse to fight against the revolutionary peasantry, and go over to the side of the partisans. During the process of the struggle, and with revolutionary unrest in the army, the Communist Party of Cuba should put forward the slogan of creating soldiers' and sailors' committees, organs of the soldiers and sailors, struggling for their economic and political demands, not recoiling from violating military discipline.

The masses of the Cuban proletariat demand that the Cespedes government legalise the Communist Party. It is possible that, under the pressure of the masses, the government will be forced to satisfy this demand. The Cuban Communist Party, however, without waiting for a solution to this by legal means, should quite openly strive for the open legal existence both of the party and of all other revolutionary organisations (the Y.C.L., the revolutionary trade unions, etc.) *at the same time maintaining and strengthening its illegal apparatus.*

Side by side with this work the Party must organise a mass struggle for political demands like freedom of the press, of speech, of meeting, etc., that is to say, demands for the maximum extension of "democratic" liberties.

At the same time the whole struggle of the Cuban toilers should be combined, by the Cuban Communist Party, with the slogan of creating a workers' and peasants' government, by putting forward and popularising its programme: nationalisation of the large industrial, transport, banking and other undertakings belonging to the imperialists; confiscation without compensation of the lands belonging to the Cuban landlords and foreign capitalists, and the distribution of this land among the peasantry; annulment of State debts; the arming of the workers and peasants; the creation of a revolutionary workers' and peasants' army of defence against armed intervention on the part of the imperialists and especially of the U.S.A., etc.; this programme of the workers' and peasants' government will convince the toiling masses of the fact that it alone is able to liberate them from the imperialist yoke and bourgeois-landlord exploitation. By leading the struggle for the workers' and peasants' government as the only possible revolutionary way out of the crisis which will be in the interests of the workers and peasants, the Cuban Communist Party will be organising the struggle of the masses and preparing for the revolutionary "overthrow of the power of the foreign imperialists, feudal lords and landlord bureaucracy" and "setting up the democratic dictatorship of the

proletariat and the peasantry on the basis of soviets" (programme of the Communist International).

In the process of preparing for strikes and other revolutionary struggles of the toilers, and in launching them, the Cuban Communist Party considers one of the most important tasks at the present time to be the *organisation of factory and workshop committees,* "Comites de Ingenios" committees in sugar refineries), *of peasant committees of struggle, of sailors' and soldiers' committees,* as well as the task of strengthening them in every way and converting them into competent organs of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses, into organs which can be relied upon in creating soviets.

In putting forward the slogan for the creation of a workers' and peasants' government and organising the masses for a struggle around it by creating factory and workshop committees and peasant committees as reliable organisational centres of Communist influence, the Cuban Communist Party at the same time puts forward, as part of its mass propaganda, the slogan of organising *soviets of workers, peasants, soldiers' and sailors' deputies.* It also takes the line of creating them in actual practice, i.e., of converting this slogan into a slogan of action, on a scale which will cover the whole country or whole districts, should the situation arise when the mass movement becomes particularly acute and develops into open civil war. The soviets created in this way will organise and lead the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and will be organs for preparing for and putting through an armed uprising of the toilers.

In connection with these slogans and the struggle of the toiling masses, the Cuban Communists put forward the demand for arming the working class and toiling peasantry, especially in connection with the menace of imperialist war and preparations for intervention, by mobilising the masses of toilers around the struggle for realising this demand on their own initiative, especially where the tide of revolutionary battles runs high. In order to organise these battles under the guidance of the Communist Party, it is essential that the forms of the struggle itself should be changed. The Communist Party in Cuba is moving forward from organising partial strikes, in individual enterprises, to the organisation of general strikes covering whole branches of industry, whole towns, whole districts and regions, leading the working class up to the mass political strike. By combining the strike struggle with demonstrations, the occupation of undertakings, etc., and so forth, the Cuban Communist Party is organising mass political demonstrations of the toilers.

At the same time the Cuban Communist Party considers it its task to widen the network of party organisations inside factories and workshops, on plantations, in villages, in the army and fleet; to increase its ranks by bringing in more workers from large-scale undertakings as well as the revolutionary toiling peasants, primarily the poor peasants, by consolidating the revolutionary trade unions inside the factories and on plantations, as well as the revolutionary trade union opposition groups inside reformist trade unions, and the leagues of the revolutionary peasantry.

The rate at which the revolutionary crisis will mature all depends upon this work among the masses for winning over the majority of the working class to the side of the Communist Party, and upon how successfully the Communists conduct the work in the trade unions, and convert the large factories and plantations into fortresses of the party.

While unmasking the bourgeois-landlord character of the new Cespedes government, its rôle as agent of American imperialism, and policy of advancing against the economic and political rights of the toilers (the order published on the first day that Cespedes assumed his post as president: to shoot down demonstrators to "maintain order" !), the Cuban Communist Party at the same time is unmasking the "left" demagogy of the new terrorist organisation, A.B.C., and other similar parties, and the link which their leaders maintain with American imperialism, simultaneously fighting to win the urban petty bourgeoisie, deceived by the "revolutionary" programmes of these organisations, and intoxicated with the victory of Machado's overthrow, to its side as one of the allies of the proletariat. A movement "for organising a left wing," hostile to the new terrorist organisation, has already begun among the students.

In organising and leading the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses, the Cuban Communist Party is fighting to operate its own revolutionary class line on behalf of political, ideological and organisational independence from all kinds of bourgeois-landlord and petty-bourgeois parties and groups which are hiding behind "revolutionary" demagogy. It is fighting against all hostile influences which penetrate into the ranks of the proletariat, and even into the Communist Party itself.

In its fight against the right-opportunist renegade group of Hunko, and cleansing its ranks of their open and covert supporters, the Cuban Communist Party should unmask the opportunist theory current among individual members of the party about the "impossibility of revolution in Cuba without revolution in the United States,"

"without revolution in the other countries of Central America," "without the help of the proletariat of other countries." This is the theory which, in actual practice, only serves to disarm the Cuban proletariat, and its vanguard, the Cuban Communist Party. The revolutionary will to fight shown by the Cuban proletariat and toiling masses, their fighting capacity as shown during the last few years, the presence of a self-sacrificing and militant Communist Party in Cuba, on the one hand, and the intensification of the struggle in the camp of the ruling classes in connection with the deepening of the economic crisis, and the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, on the other—it is all these internal conditions which are the guarantee of the possibility of victory for the revolution in Cuba. It goes without saying that the Communist Parties of other countries, and primarily of the Communist Parties of America, of Mexico and of Central America, are faced with the task of mobilising the proletariat and toiling masses to give active support to the revolutionary movement in Cuba.

The Cuban Communist Party is faced with very great revolutionary battles. The fulfilment of the historic and revolutionary tasks which face it in the present situation depends on its capability in heading and deepening the economic and political struggle of the Cuban proletariat and toiling masses.

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